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THE HUTTERIAN BRETHREN IN ALBERTA

A THESIS

Submitted to

THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

in

A Programme Leading to the Degree of Master of Arts

by

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Claresholm, Alberta

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The pictures of Hutterite life, in Appendix C of the thesis, were taken by Mr. Lawrence Strang, a fully qualified and licensed photographer of Claresholm. Mr. Strang has refused to accept remuneration of any kind for his work, although he drove his own car loaded with equipment several times over the thirty mile trip to the Granum Colony before securing the photographs desired. I am very much indebted to Mr. Strang.

It is impossible to name here all the many individuals who have assisted me to write the story of the Brethren.



In this respect, however, I must express my deep obligation to Professor A. F. L. Zieglschmid of Northwestern University, translator of the work Das Klein Geschichtsbuch, and an outstanding authority on Hutterian life. Professor Zieglschmid was never too busy to answer my numerous questions, and his kind letters of interest and advice have been extremely helpful.

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## INTRODUCTION

In the last week of August, 1933, a special gathering of the ratepayers of the Daly Creek School District, an area about eight miles south-west of the town of Granum, Alberta, met one evening to discuss a matter of some importance. Kerosene lamps illuminated the small school room with its rows of children's desks, now occupied for the moment, and with noticeable lack of comfort, by the parents. Seated apart in one section of the room was a group of four older men whose drab, baggy, old-world garments and heavily bearded countenances readily distinguished them as members of the Hutterian Brethren in Alberta.

The chairman of the local school board took charge of the meeting. He told his audience that the entire nation was sunk in the depths of a world-wide depression; that wheat was being sold in the Granum elevators for twenty-five to thirty cents a bushel; that prices for all farm commodities had reached an all-time low level. These were facts with which his listeners were but too well acquainted and consequently they could, he said, appreciate the difficulties facing the Hutterite colony that had established itself within the district three years before; difficulties



that had finally made it financially impossible for the Colony to continue to operate its own private school. The Elders of the Colony, some of whom were present at this meeting, had approached the district Board with the request that, since the Colony paid all local school taxes assessed on its property within the district, the Hutterite children be admitted to the Daly Creek school.

This request the Board was reluctant to grant, although the members of the Board had an uneasy feeling that the laws of the province held them responsible for the education of all children within their district. This reluctance was not due to any active dislike toward the Hutterites, but arose from other factors that were involved. The sixteen Hutterite children concerned would almost double the enrolment of the little school. There would not be sufficient books or supplies, and not nearly enough desks. The teacher, a man who had taught the Daly Creek School for the preceding four years, had been re-engaged on the assumption that his work would be similar to that of the past, and consequently it could hardly be considered as fair to double his responsibilities on such short notice.

A silence followed the chairman's speech. The Hutterian delegation sat quietly, saying nothing. The rate-



payers twisted uneasily in their uncomfortable seats while they tried to think through the situation. The final remark of the chairman's, that concerning the teacher's position in the matter, attracted especial attention, and at last someone rose to ask why the teacher was not present, and to suggest that he be called in. Summoned accordingly from the nearby teacherage, this latest party to the controversy listened carefully to all the points outlined by the chairman. After some thought, during which everybody except the Hutterites talked and argued at once, he replied. He advised the Board and the rate-payers that in his opinion the Hutterite children were indubitably entitled to an education, and that the responsibility, both legal and moral, for providing this education rested squarely upon the District Board. He told them that, although the school would be crowded, the additional desks necessary could doubtless be obtained from the Colony school, and that he and the children would make out somehow. He concluded his remarks in the following manner:-

"Personally, I am glad to welcome these Hutterite children into my school. I know of no better way to make Canadians out of them. I have not the least doubt that, through association with our own boys and girls, through







observation of our ways, our customs and manner of dress, and by taking part in our games and by learning our songs, they will become quite dissatisfied with the colourless, monotonous life of the colony. These children will be quick to learn and to adopt our way of life, and to discard that which circumstance and accident of birth now forces upon them. It is through the children that we will break up these colonies, these islands of isolation within our midst, and eventually bring about a true assimilation of the Hutterites into Albertan and Canadian society."

Grins were exchanged among the ratepayers. The faces of the Hutterian Elders grew serious as the full import of the teacher's statement became apparent. They conferred hastily for a few moments in their own language, and then departed. Not a single Hutterite child was sent to the Daly Creek school, then or ever.

The point of this story is that I was that teacher, and that occasion was the first to awaken my interest in the Hutterite question. One fact I would hasten to make clear, and that is that I claim no credit for cleverness in meeting the problem presented to me at that meeting, if indeed any cleverness was involved. A very young man at the time, I was completely sincere in believing that the Hutterites would welcome the idea of assimilation. I



believed that they were just as willing as the Menmonites to adopt our ways and enter into our community life; that only a sort of pride and a certain timidity towards us held them back. In short, I knew nothing about the Hutterites. I had no conception of that belief, basic in Hutterian doctrine, by which the Hutterian church places itself apart from all other society and "out of the world." The incident as related did arouse my curiosity, and, later, a genuine interest in the Hutterian Brethren; an interest which, although critical, has always been sympathetic, and will so continue to be. This thesis may properly be regarded as a culmination of that interest.



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THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND

The Hutterite colonies at present located within Alberta had their historical origin well over four centuries ago in the early years of the Reformation period in Europe. In the city of Zurich, Switzerland, there developed a group of very earnest Christians who had been zealous followers of Luther or of Zwingli, but who had come to believe that neither of these leaders would accomplish any real reform of the abuses which they felt existed within Protestantism. To this group their opponents, Protestant and Catholic alike, assigned the name "Anabaptists", a term meaning to "baptize again" and derived from that tenet of Anabaptist belief which opposed the baptism of infants.

As a religious system, Anabaptism has been described as the Reformation doctrine carried to its extreme limits; the "Anabaptists were the extreme left in the army of Reformers." (1) Yet, while Anabaptism may be thought of as a movement, the Anabaptists themselves were divided into a number of sects which differed considerably over the various interpretations of the Bible prevalent at the time. In general, it seems possible to distinguish between certain fanatical and revolutionary groups formed under such

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(1) Encyclopaedia Britannica: Vol. I, p. 857





leaders as Thomas Munzer and John of Leiden, and the non-revolutionary element of whom three sects concern us here, namely, the Swiss Brethren, the Mennonites, and the Hutterites.

Of these three groups the Swiss Brethren were the first to form an organized church, and both the Mennonites and the Hutterites stem from that organization. The Swiss Brethren established their church in Zurich during the third week of January, 1525, under the leadership of Conrad Grebel, Felix Manz, and others. These men had been disciples of Zwingli but had broken with him over the all-important question of infant baptism. It is of interest to note that in founding their church, the Swiss Brethren not only forsook the Roman Catholic faith but also antedated the Reformed Church of Zwingli which was not legally born until Easter, 1525, a date marked by the abolition of the Mass in Zurich. (1) The Swiss Brethren adopted the following seven principles of doctrine: (2)

- (a) Adult baptism only, upon confession of faith, and by sprinkling.
- (b) The Lord's Supper as a memorial service only.
- (c) The need of Christians to separate themselves from

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(1) Horsch, John: The Hutterian Brethren, Goshen, Indiana, 1931; p. 4

(2) Clark, Bertha W.: The Hutterian Communities, Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 32, 1924; p. 468



worldly affairs and to abstain from voting and the holding of office.

- (d) The support of a Christian ministry.
- (e) A policy of non-resistance, denying the right of Christians to bear arms.
- (f) Opposition to the taking of oaths.
- (g) The use of the ban as the only method of church discipline.

This same year of 1525 witnessed the outbreak of the Peasants' Revolt in Germany. This uprising of the lower classes, led by militant groups of Anabaptists, rapidly proved to be a bloody affair that alarmed the authorities and caused Martin Luther himself to condemn the rebels in whom he saw a distinct threat to the existing social order. As a result, when the peasants' movement had been crushed, the anger of the state directed itself not only against the militant Anabaptists but against all others who in any way shared their religious views. Thus the pacifist Swiss Brethren were included in the general condemnation and subjected to such persecution that they were forced to flee for their lives.

A certain number of the Brethren moved into the Austrian Tyrol, north of the Brenner Pass, in the hope

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that they would escape observation in the mountains there. Many followed the Rhine River down into Holland and, as we shall see, these in later times became known as Mennonites. Other bands travelled east to seek safety in Moravia, a province of the present state of Czecho-Slovakia where Anabaptism was tolerated. There, in the town of Nikolsburg, in 1526, they founded a church under the leadership of Balthaser Hübmeier. By the end of that year this church had a membership of between six and twelve thousand. Within so large a group differences of religious opinion were bound to arise. Division became inevitable, and the congregation soon split into two clearly defined parties. (I)

The two main points at issue centered upon communal ownership of goods and the equally vexatious question of the right of Christians to bear arms. The conservative element among them, by far the smaller group in numbers, held fast to the belief that the only way of life possible to Christians was that described for the early Church of Jerusalem in the second chapter of Acts, by which all things were to be held in common. They also maintained that under no circumstances may a Christian bear arms. The leader of this group of some two hundred members was a Jacob Widemann.

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(I) Horsch, op. cit., p. 7.







Because of the threatened invasion of Moravia by the Turks in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the controversy over the bearing of arms became especially acute. The more liberal section of the Anabaptists supported Hübmeier in his teaching that, although it was wrong for a Christian to bear arms, nevertheless, if the government demanded it to defend the state, obedience to such authority became necessary. Unable to agree with Hübmeier upon this fundamental tenet of Anabaptist faith, Widemann, in the year 1528, led his followers out of Nikolsburg north to Austerlitz, where they had been invited to settle by the rulers of the district, four brothers, the Lords of Kaunitz. (1)

The Kaunitz brothers had extended their invitation chiefly from economic motives. "The main reason for the tolerant attitude of the lords toward the Brethren is found in the fact that they had great material gain from these communities." (2) The Anabaptists in general had achieved the reputation of being an industrious, hard-working people who could be depended upon to secure a high level of production upon the vast baronial estates.

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(1) Ibid, p. 8. Austerlitz, is about twelve miles southeast of Brunn, capital of Moravia

(2) Ibid, p. 14.



Toleration of religious beliefs at variance with their own was rarely shown by the ruling nobility of the period. Yet, in the face of repeated demands from Vienna for the suppression of the Anabaptists, the Moravian lords insisted that "these people were of the most law-abiding and useful subjects, and their expulsion would be a great loss to the country." (1) Another reason for toleration may be found in the fact that the Lords of Kaunitz had long been accustomed to having within their domains a religious group known as the Picards. The Picards were descendants of the Hussites who had disowned papal authority over a century before, and they held beliefs much similar to those of Widemann. For these reasons, then, the band under Widemann was invited to Austerlitz, and into that area they came. (2)

An interesting legend, pertinent to the communal aspect of Widemann's faith, evolved around an incident reputedly taking place on the journey from Nikolsburg. The group stopped on the first night at the little village of Bogenitz where they proceeded to elect "four ministers of temporal needs" to assist their leader. These four spread a cloak on the ground before the band, and everyone came forward to place all his worldly possessions

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(1) Ibid, p. 15

(2) Descendants of the Picards form the Moravian Church in America today.



upon it. In this way the communal system, practiced by the Hutterites to this day, was definitely sanctioned and established. Incidentally, one of the four assistants elected at Bogenitz was a Bohemian called Jacob Mandel. The name Mandel is still common among the Hutterite Brethren.

The Swiss Brethren neither defended nor practiced communal ownership of goods. To Jacob Widemann and his band must be ascribed the initiative in establishing the principle of "all things owned in common." The idea of community ownership seems to have worked well in practice; the group that journeyed to Austerlitz flourished, while the congregation that remained under Hübmeier at Nikolsburg rapidly declined. (I)

It is at this point in our story that the name of Jacob Hutter comes into prominence. As has been noted, many Swiss Brethren had taken refuge in the Tyrol of south-west Austria. Of these a certain group had founded a ministry near Bruneck and Jacob Hutter was their leader. Hutter, whose name seems to have been derived from the fact that he was a hatter by trade, led this Tyrolean church during a time of intense persecution from Vienna,

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(I) A remnant of the Nikolsburg Brethren joined the Sabbatarians of later times.







a persecution which drove him to seek protection for his followers elsewhere. It was in this connection that he visited Austerlitz in 1529 and was so favourably impressed by conditions there that he advised many of the Brethren in the Tyrol to escape into Moravia. Hutter himself did not leave the Tyrol until 1533, in which year he came with many others to join his fellows at Auspitz, another district ruled by the Kaunitz brothers. (I)

Although little enough is known of Hutter's life, it appears evident that he possessed both courage and outstanding organizing ability. Widemann, despite his being a man of strong convictions and intense faith, seemingly lacked some gift of leadership; consequently, it was not long before Hutter had replaced Widemann as the head of the congregation centered about Auspitz. Hutter proved to be a strict disciplinarian, and under him every trace of private ownership and special privilege disappeared. He gave organization to the religious beliefs and practices of his people, and it is from him that the name "Hutterian Brethren" is derived.

Hutter was not destined to remain for long as the leader of the organization he had so ably effected. The excesses of the Anabaptist Revolt of Münster in 1534-35



resulted in the "First Great Persecution in Moravia", despite the fact that the Brethren there had taken no part in the Münster uprising. The authorities of the period regarded all parties and sects who disapproved of infant baptism as Anabaptists, and all suffered persecution. Jacob Hutter was burned at the stake at Innsbruck, in the Tyrol, on February 26, 1536. He had been granted but three short years to establish a discipline for his church, yet so well had he accomplished this work that the principles he set up have come down to the present time practically unchanged. (1)

The persecutions continued, interspersed with brief periods of respite, until the death of Ferdinand of Austria in 1564. During the reign of Maximilian II (1564-1576) and the first half of that of his successor, Rudolf II (1576-1612), the Hutterites prospered under comparative freedom from molestation and they refer to this era as the "Golden Time" of their church. (2) "The group prospered amazingly, and Hutterite communities spread all over Moravia." (3) Primarily agriculturalists, they possessed fine breeds of cattle and horses, vineyards and flour mills. The Hutterites became skilled in handi-

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(1) By an interesting coincidence this same year of 1536 saw the Mennonite Church organized in Holland by Menno Simons.

(2) Horsch, op. cit., p. 19.

(3) Clark, op. cit., p. 472.



crafts, manufacturing cutlery, pottery, and linens. They were first-class weavers and even trained their own physicians, one of whom, according to legend, attended the Emperor Rudolf II himself. (I) Within the community, each member worked at that for which he was best suited. The earnings of every individual went into the common treasury. No remuneration could be kept secret; if such was proven, it was regarded as theft and punished by expulsion. The orphans and widows, the sick and the aged, were all cared for. No one was permitted to be in want.

The Thirty Years War of 1618 to 1648 marked a slow but constant decline in the life of the Hutterian communities. Since the communal system involved the storing of large amounts of food-stuffs and materials, the Brethren could not hope to avoid the unwelcome attention of soldiers bent upon pillage or forage. Time and again the Hutterites saw their warehouses plundered and destroyed. Following the Battle of White Mountain, in 1620, in which the Moravian nobles who had protected them were crushed, the communities in Moravia were broken up. Many of the members dispersed into other lands, never again to join together as groups. Between fifteen and twenty thousand, however, moved into Hungary and Transylvania to set up

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(I) Horsch, op. cit, p. 37. The physician was a George Zobel.







new households. But the Thirty Years War was followed by the Turkish wars, and once more the Hutterites found themselves in the path of invasion. "By 1665 they were reduced to the most abject poverty and were forced to send representatives to Holland to beg aid from the Mennonites ..... aid which was most generously given."  
(1)

The persecution of the Hutterites increased in intensity. All four of the established Churches of the day, Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Unitarian, joined in the effort to force the Brethren to abandon their peculiar beliefs. In Hungary, the Jesuits proposed an arrangement whereby the Hutterites who adopted Catholicism would be permitted to retain their separate congregations, their own school teachers, and their exemption from military service. The temptation was too great to be resisted, and, in 1763, the Hutterian Church in Hungary ceased to exist. All of the Hutterites in Hungary accepted the terms offered and embraced the Catholic faith. Their new churches came to be known as "Habaner" churches, a term meaning "lubber", contemptuously applied to them by the people of the country. Today their descendants are all good Catholics. (2)

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(1) Clark, op. cit., p. 476.

(2) Ibid, p. 477.



The Brethren in Transylvania were of sterner stuff. Refusing to surrender their faith, although circumstances had long since forced them to abandon community of goods, this group continued to resist persecution until 1767, in which year they were forced to flee across the Carpathian Mountains into Wallachia. The band numbered only sixty-seven souls, but these were joined later by some who deserted the Catholic Church that they had been compelled to join. This remnant of the Brethren settled near Bukharest where, under the leadership of Johann Stahl and Joseph Chur, they proceeded to restore their old communal system in full.

At first, the Hutterites prospered in their new environment. They experienced no difficulty in renting land from the Rumanian noblemen who actually were quite anxious to secure good agricultural workers. But their newly found happiness was of short duration. Disease decimated their ranks, and war, this time between Russia and Turkey, again threatened to disrupt their way of life. Depredations of raiding soldiers once more forced the abandonment of the communal system, and the colony declined.

It was at this critical point in their history that the Hutterites first learned of the invitation extended



by Catherine the Great of Russia to German colonists. The Czarina was eager to develop the great unimproved areas of her vast realm, and, being herself German, she was especially friendly toward German settlers. Many of the Mennonites of Holland had taken advantage of offers that included freedom of worship and exemption from all military service, and had settled in the area north of the Crimea Peninsula. With renewed hope, the Hutterites now followed. In 1770 all the Hutterian Brethren in Wallachia migrated to White Russia, to set up once again their community life at a place called Wischenka, on the Desna River. Here they entered into a contract with Count Romanzov, the over-lord of the district. Under the terms of this agreement, the Hutterites obtained complete freedom of worship, exemption from taxes for three years, and assistance in constructing their buildings. Military service was not required from them by the royal Government. In addition, the Count advanced them financial aid. (I) By August 1, 1770, the Hutterites had set up their new community on the Desna River, and a new period of prosperity began that lasted until the death of Count Romanzov in 1796.

Years of difficulty followed under the rule of Rom-





anzov's son, and the troubles of the Hutterites were increased by the dislike and hostility shown by their Russian neighbours. Once more the strength of the Brethren declined, and once more in desperation they moved to take up new homes near Melitopol, in the Crimean area. Here the Hutterites found themselves close to the Mennonite settlements that had already been established in that district. They set up the colony at Melitopol in 1842, and named it Hutterthal in honour of Jacob Hutter. About ten years later, the Brethren founded a second colony in this same fertile region, and gave it the name Johannesruh from its leader, Johannes Cornies. Cornies, it would seem, was a man highly respected by both the Hutterite and the Mennonite groups. He agreed with the Mennonites in that he did not believe in communal ownership. In this connection, it is a little strange to find that the Russian government of the time also opposed the idea of community of goods, and refused to grant the repeated petitions of the Hutterites for permission to re-establish their communal system. Not until 1857 was this permission finally secured, and the two colonies that were then set up later became the first to migrate to America.

Throughout the next century the Hutterites enjoyed fairly prosperous conditions under the Russian Czars. But in 1870 Alexander II decided to reorganize his armies,



and issued an order that withdrew the exemption from military service granted the Brethren by Catherine and confirmed by Paul I. Both Mennonites and Hutterites were affected by the new decree. Delegates from both sects journeyed to St. Petersburg to confer with the Russian authorities, while, at the same time, both groups began looking abroad for new homes. The Hutterian delegation returned in March, 1873, to report that the Government required only non-combatant duties from them. The Government took the viewpoint that, since the Hutterites had become established and wealthy during a century of residence within the land, they should now be willing to assist directly in the support of the state in the event of war.

Among the Hutterites there developed a difference of opinion concerning the Czar's request. Some held that the attitude of the Government was both just and reasonable and that the terms offered should be accepted. But there were others who remained obdurate in the conviction that no type of military service, combatant or otherwise, could possibly be considered. Those of this latter belief at once began to plan on emigrating. They considered, and rejected, proposals in favour of such places as North

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Africa or Siberia, and finally, in April, 1873, two Hutterian Elders, Paul Tschetter and Lorenz Tschetter, were authorized by the Brethren to visit the United States to inquire into conditions there.

The two delegates set out on April 14, 1873, and travelling via Odessa, Breslau, and Berlin, sailed from Hamburg to arrive in New York on May 8th. After interviewing various land and railroad agents, they hastened on to the newly opened lands of the West, and made their headquarters at Elkhart, Indiana. From Elkhart they toured, under the guidance of government agents, through the states of Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, South and North Dakota, and north into the Canadian province of Manitoba. Paul Tschetter kept a diary in which he related how government and railway officials vied with one another over prospective Hutterian settlement. Each endeavored to persuade the delegates to decide in favour of the territory in which he was interested, and land was offered on all sides at very reasonable prices. (I) After deciding tentatively in favour of Nebraska and the Dakotas, the two Elders returned to New York to interview President Grant.

This most important meeting was arranged by the

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(I) The Diary of Paul Tschetter, Mennonite Quarterly Review, April and July, 1931.







agent for the Northern Pacific Railroad, a Mr. Hiller, who, on July 27, 1873, introduced Paul Tschetter to the President at the latter's quarters in Long Beach. According to Tschetter's diary, President Grant was very friendly and assured him that the Hutterites would be welcome in the United States and pointed out that the Constitution of the country guaranteed full religious liberty. On the question of military service the President refused to commit himself, stating - rather ominously - that there could be no privileged groups within the nation. He did go so far as to declare it unlikely that any major war, requiring military service, would develop in the next fifty years. One is impressed by the prophetic quality of this statement. (I)

On the whole, the Hutterite delegates were satisfied with the prospects of emigrating to America and embarked for home on the steamship Cimbria, arriving in South Russia on August 28. A few weeks later Mr. Hiller followed them on behalf of the Northern Pacific Railroad to interview the Hutterites in their homeland. They needed little persuasion from him, and, during the next year, 1874, eager plans were made to emigrate to America.

The period from 1874 to 1879 marks the close of



this chapter in Hutterian history. With the exception of the Habaner groups, discussed on page 11 of this thesis, the Hutterites ceased to reside in Europe until 1920, when a certain Eberhard Arnold founded a type of Christian communal living in Germany. Ten years later this small group under Arnold achieved organic union with the Hutterites in America, and this event, together with the subsequent history of this second European development, will be dealt with later, in the chapter on "The Dispersal." It remains only to note here that by 1879 all the Hutterites of South Russia had emigrated to the United States. At this time there were but two groups, or "Bruderhofs", those of Hutterdorf and Scheromet, which practised communal living; the three others at Hutterthal, Johannesruh, and New Hutterthal maintained private ownership and lived "out of community".

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THE DISPERSAL

Between the years 1874 and 1879 approximately one hundred Hutterian families left their homes in South Russia to establish new communities within the United States. Upon arrival in New York, they travelled by way of Detroit and Chicago to Lincoln, Nebraska. Here, while the Elders debated amid the clamors of rival land agents as to just where the groups should settle, the younger men secured work at odd jobs in the city to help pay living expenses. Much to the disgust of the Nebraska officials, the final decision favoured the Dakota territory, and the entire body of Hutterites moved on to Yankton, which, at that time, was the western terminus of the Chicago and Milwaukee Railroad.

At Yankton there occurred a division. The Federal Government's Homestead Act provided that an individual could secure four hundred and eighty acres of virgin land for his own use, and this proved a strong inducement to those Hutterites who had not been practising communal ownership in Russia. The result was that some fifty families took advantage of the terms offered under the

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Homestead Act. Each family selected its own privately owned farm, all within the area of forty to fifty miles north-west of Yankton. They have spread since then into Hutchinson, McCook, Hanson, Beadle, Spink and Sully counties of South Dakota as well as into the states of North Dakota, Montana, California and north into Saskatchewan. They have never reorganized on a communal basis, and today finds most of them incorporated with the Mennonite churches. In fact they are Mennonites, although they continue to retain the Hutterian dialect, and consequently they drop out of our story.

The remaining fifty families, about two hundred and fifty individuals, refused to take up land under the Homestead Act. It would appear that not only did they possess a genuine desire to return to their communal way of living, but they feared that the securing of individual homesteads would in some degree place them under an obligation to the government, an obligation which at some future time might justify the government's calling upon them to render war services. They were determined to buy the land outright, and this they finally accomplished. The first deal consisted of the purchase of 2500 acres at a price of \$25,000. from a Mr. W. A. Burleigh of Yankton. (I) This land was on the Missouri River, eighteen



miles west of Yankton. The Hutterites arranged the purchase by paying \$17,000. in cash; the balance was met by subsequent instalments.

This first truly Hutterian community in America was called Bon Homme, a name derived from that of a small town formerly located two miles to the west of the colony, but which has since disappeared from the map. The leader of the group which settled at Bon Homme in 1874 was a Michael Waldner, a blacksmith by trade. In consequence, the members of the Bon Homme Colony, and of the colonies that subsequently stemmed from it, have ever since been known as the Schmieden Leut, or "Smith Group".

Later in 1874 another band of Hutterites arrived from Russia under the leadership of Darius Walter. They established the second colony in America near Freeman, about forty-five miles northwest of Yankton. They named their community Wolf Creek. The members of the Wolf Creek Colony, and their descendants, are called the Dariusleut.

(I) In 1877 a third band came over to settle at Old Elm Spring, near Parkston, South Dakota, some twenty miles northwest of Bon Homme. This group took the name of Lehrerleut from the fact that their leader, Jacob Wipf,

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(I) Clark, op. cit., p. 358. The name "Dariusleut" is accented on the first syllable.



was a teacher, a "Lehrer". (I)

Bon Homme, Wolf Creek, and Old Elm Spring, all in South Dakota, formed the three original colonies in America from which have sprung all the others to be found to-day in the United States and Canada. These three have since increased to more than seventy communities; their initial membership of some two hundred and fifty persons has grown to over seven thousand in North America.

The reasons for this almost phenomenal expansion are not difficult to find. Strict adherence to a communal system, in which no single member of the colony may possess private property, combined with a way of life that requires only the barest necessities, has resulted, and no doubt will continue to result, in a steady accumulation of money wealth. The Hutterites are good farmers, fully conversant with the practice of dry soil agriculture. They buy in bulk at the lowest prices obtainable, and sell in the same manner in the highest market available. They thus avoid the "middleman's" profits, and retain in their own hands the receipts from the sale of their products. Consequently, large sums accumulate quite rapidly to be used almost wholly for the purchase of better machinery and additional land.

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(I) The word "leut", meaning "group", is sometimes spelled "lite".







By 1918 the Bon Homme Colony had established five daughter communities in South Dakota. The Wolf Creek group had founded six additional colonies, and Old Elm Spring another six. But the United States was now in the midst of World War I, and the Hutterites again had to face the trials and oppressions to which war conditions within a nation have always exposed them. When, in 1917, the American Congress passed the Selective Service Act and the subsequent Draft Acts, the Hutterites, as was to be expected, refused to enter military service. They did, however, report to the camps set up by the government for conscientious objectors. Within these camps their experiences were far from being pleasant. They were subjected to many indignities; their beards were clipped by force, and the most disagreeable tasks about the camps were assigned to them. Two of their young men, Joseph and Michael Hofer, died in camp, allegedly as a result of mistreatment. One cannot fail to be shocked by the callousness of the American authorities who had the bodies of the two men shipped home dressed in the uniform of the United States soldier - a uniform which in life they had refused to wear because of religious beliefs. (I)

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(I) Smith, C. Henry, Coming of the Russian Mennonites, New York, 1934, pp. 277 - 282.



The older Brethren who remained in the Colonies fared almost as badly. The press of the times contains accounts of riots in which Hutterites were tarred and feathered. Band after band of patriotic American citizens, righteously indignant over the refusal of the Hutterites to assist the war effort, drove off herds of Hutterian cattle and forcibly confiscated other property to be turned into Liberty bonds. The bonds, incidentally, were deposited in the Yankton bank, an institution that later failed. In so far as I have been able to discover, the Hutterites have never recovered one cent of this property. (I)

Conscientious objectors invariably receive rather grim treatment in war time, and no doubt the Hutterites were not the only sect to suffer the effects of war hysteria. The Brethren bowed to the storm. They marked in their memories the names of the two Hofer boys who had died at Camp Funston as the latest martyrs to the Church, and the Elders, all too well aware of the history of the group, prepared to move on. They already possessed the assurance that, under the Canada Militia Act, their religion would be fully respected in Canada. So, in 1918, "The Brothers, known as Hutterians" (2) packed up their

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(I) Ibid

(2) This is the name by which the Hutterites themselves wish to be called.



belongings preparatory to emigrating to Manitoba and Alberta.

In 1918, or as soon after as permission to move could be obtained, the "Smith Group" colonies derived from the Bon Homme Bruderhof sold their lands in South Dakota for whatever they would bring, and set out for Manitoba. The province of Manitoba was not entirely unknown to the Hutterites; they had established a colony there, at Dominion City, back in 1899, at which time they had been granted unconditional exemption from all types of military service by the Dominion Government. Because of the flooding of the Red River, the land could not be farmed, and the Hutterites at Dominion City disbanded their colony to return to South Dakota in 1900.

When feeling in the United States turned against them in 1918, the Hutterites prepared to give Manitoba, and Canada, a second trial. The Brethren of the Smith Group took up new holdings near Elie, thirty-five miles west of Winnipeg. Here they founded eight Bruderhof communities:- Militown, where many of the ancient manuscripts of the Church are still kept; James Valley, near Starbuck; Huron and Bon Homme, at Benard Siding, Rosedale and Iberville, at Elie; Maxwell and Barrickman, at Headingly. In 1922 the Smith Group founded their

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ninth Bruderhof in Manitoba at Plum Coulee in the south of the province, just west of St. Jean Baptiste. They named this last Colony Rosengart, or Blumengard, and the land there was purchased from the Mennonites who were moving to Mexico. The tenth and last colony to be established by the exodus of the Smith Group into Manitoba was that of Roseisle, about thirty-three miles northwest of Plum Coulee. (I) The names selected for the Manitoba colonies were suggested, for the most part, by those of the communities in South Dakota. These ten original colonies have since expanded; but all the Hutterites in Manitoba today are members of the Smith Group.

In this same fateful year of 1918 the Hutterites came into Alberta. While the members of the Smith Group settled solidly in Manitoba, those of the Darius and the Teacher Groups moved into this province. Between 1918 and 1920 twelve Hutterian communities were set up in Alberta. Of these twelve, five belonged to the Teacher, and seven to the Darius Group:-

<u>Colony</u>	<u>Teacher Group</u>	<u>Address</u>
Woolford or Big Bend		Woolford
Old Elm		Magrath
New Elm		Magrath
Rockport		Magrath
Milford or Buck Ranch		Raymond

(I) Arnold, Eberhard, The Hutterian Brothers, London, 1940,

p. 29. Written by Arnold in 1931; translated and published nine years later.



Darius Group

<u>Colony</u>	<u>Address</u>
Rosebud	Rosebud
Springvale	Rockyford
Stahlville	Rockyford
Standoff	Macleod
East Cardston	Cardston
Raley	Raley
Wilson (Richards)	Wilson Siding

From the above table it will be seen that, of the original twelve colonies in Alberta, eight were established between Lethbridge and Cardston; three west of Calgary, near Rockyford; and one at Standoff, south of Macleod. A complete list of all the colonies at present located within Alberta is given on pages 140 to 141 of this thesis.

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## RETURN OF THE HUTTERITE CHURCH TO EUROPE

As has been stated earlier in this work (1) the Hutterites began to leave Russia in 1874, and by 1879 none was left in Europe. All the members of this ancient faith were in North America. The manner by which the Hutterian Church was revived in Europe is of interest especially because Alberta, through the Standoff Colony, played an important part in the revival.

Following her collapse at the end of World War I, Germany became a dispirited nation of low morale, deeply sunken in the apathy that follows in a country suffering total defeat. Militarism was dead, for the moment at least; a new ideal, a new principle of life seemed indicated. It was at this period in the history of the German nation that Dr. Eberhard Arnold, for many years the General Secretary of the Student Christian Movement in Germany, and a man who is described as being a truly Christian gentleman, (2) announced his philosophy of love:

"What our earth needs at this historic moment is that a people out of all nations shall arise, in which the love of Christ alone rules; where there shall be no longer any national, class, or educational distinction - neither Greek nor Jew, but all one in love. It must be

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(1) p. 19.

(2) United Church Observer, issues of Nov. 15, Dec. 1, and Dec. 15, 1941.





a people in which all citizens reject for themselves and for all any compromise with the power of lying, hatred, and injustice. This means complete surrender to the spirit of love." (I)

To implement the ideal thus expressed, Dr. Arnold established a group of devout Christians who began the practice of communal living at Sannerz, in the hills of the Black Forest region of Germany. The colony came later to be known as the Rhoen Hills Bruderhof, and among its most prized possessions was included a printing press to publish tracts and pamphlets explaining the new doctrine. By 1920 the Rhoen Hills Colony was in full operation and, despite the period of post-war inflation that developed in Germany, the group seems to have flourished throughout the next decade.

That Dr. Arnold should decide to visit America is not surprising. His own readings and study had acquainted him with the history of both the Mennonite and the Hutterian Brethren, and he was naturally anxious to see just how these groups functioned in the New World. Dr. Arnold's tour of the Bruderhofs in the United States and western Canada was quite extensive. The Hutterian mode of life impressed him deeply, and finally, on December 9, 1930, at Standoff, Alberta, Dr. Arnold formally joined the Hutterite Church. By this action he invested himself



with the authority necessary to unite the Rhoen Bruderhof with the Hutterian Brethren. This union he effected upon his return to Germany in 1931, just prior to the advent of Hitler and the Nazi Party to power. (1)

This last phrase foretells the fate of the Rhoen Colony. Forced out of Germany by Nazi tyranny, their lands and holdings confiscated by the German government, the Brethren withdrew to the safety of the tiny principality of Liechtenstein and set up their communal life in a new Bruderhof at Alm, near Triesenberg, in 1934. But residence in Alm was only temporary. Under pressure from Germany, the Liechtenstein authorities refused the group permission to remain. So, in March, 1936, the Brethren removed to England to establish a small colony at Ashton Keynes, in the Cotswold Hills of Wiltshire. At Ashton Keynes they were joined later by members who had been left behind in Germany and Liechtenstein, and the Brethren set up their old printing press once more. In fact, the English colony undertook, with some success, the publication of a quarterly magazine which they entitled "The Plough." (2)

The group prospered in England, so much so that by 1940 they numbered some three hundred and forty members

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(1) Ibid, Dec. 15, 1941.

(2) Ibid.



established in two Bruderhofs, the original one at Ashton Keynes, and a second at Oaksey, a few miles distant. But in 1940 England was at war, and war has ever been the chief factor in ending Hutterian security. Local hostility was bound to develop against a group of pacifists, chiefly German in origin, and this hostility rapidly grew into outright ostracism. (I) Once more it seemed advisable to move. This time, with the counsel and aid of the Mennonites in America, the Hutterites emigrated to far-off Paraguay, and by April, 1941, only three of the Brethren were left in England. These three remained to complete the legal transactions involved in the sale of the land, machinery, and stock.

Prior to this second migration from Europe, an event of considerable importance to the Hutterites had taken place in 1937. In that year "two Ministers of the Word" in the persons of David Hofer, of James Valley, Manitoba, and Michael Waldner, of Bon Homme Colony in South Dakota, visited their Brethren in Europe. The main purpose of this long journey apparently was to establish and confirm the union of the group in England with the Hutterian Church in America. The following extract is of interest in this connection:-





"We certify that the members of the Cotswold Bruderhof Community at Ashton Keynes and the Oaksey Bruderhof at Oaksey, both in Wiltshire, England, are members of the Hutterian Church of America and Europe, whose founder and chief organizer, Jakob Huter, was burned at the stake in Innsbruck in 1536.

The uniting of the group originally founded by Dr. Eberhard Arnold in Sannerz, and later resident at the Rhonbruderhof, Kreis Fulda, Post Neuhoef, with the Hutterian Church took place on 14th December, 1930, at the Stand Off Bruderhof in Alberta, Canada. After the death of Dr. Arnold on November 22nd, 1935, two Elders of the Hutterian Church of Manitoba and South Dakota, the Reverend David Hofer from James Valley Bruderhof, Elie, Manitoba, Canada, and the Reverend Michael Waldner from Bon Homme Bruderhof, Tabor, South Dakota, U. S. A., visited the members of the Hutterian Church in England, Germany and Liechtenstein, and also witnessed the dissolution of the German Bruderhof by the Secret State Police on 17th April, 1937.

Before they left again for America, they confirmed and ordained two members of the Hutterian Church in Europe, Georg Barth, now residing at the Oaksey Bruderhof Community, and Eberhard Carl Heinrich Arnold, now residing at the Cotswold Bruderhof Community, in the ministry of the Hutterian Church. Their ordination took place at the Cotswold Bruderhof on September 13th, 1937.

With their ordination by the laying on of hands they have been given the task of preaching the Word of God both within and without the Church, and of leading the European branch of the Hutterian Church in close contact with their Elders in America, in every respect spiritually and temporarily."

(Signed) Joseph Kleinsasser  
David Hofer

Elders of the Hutterian Church  
in Manitoba

Milltown  
Hutterian Church  
Benard, Manitoba, Canada. (I)

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(I) Eberhard Arnold, op. cit., pp. 45-46.



It is quite evident from the foregoing declaration that formal union between the two branches of the Hutterites was fully established in 1937. Dr. Eberhard Arnold had died in 1935; the "Eberhard Carl Heinrich Arnold" referred to in the declaration is his son.

The Hutterian Church in England did not cease to exist in 1941. Unforeseen legal difficulties arose to prevent the departure of the three Hutterite agents. The solicitors for the purchasers refused to accept the powers of attorney vested in the agents by the emigrating Brethren, and insisted upon sending all legal papers to Paraguay for signature. Months passed before the documents returned to England, and it was March, 1942, when all these business matters were finally completed. (I)

The Hutterian way of life has a strong attraction for certain people. During the long interval of waiting, the three Brethren remaining at Cotswold were joined by new converts, so that by Christmas, 1941, the group numbered about twenty members. Feeling on the part of the English populace against them had died down, and the Brethren determined to re-establish their colony. They were able to secure land at the Lower Bromdon Farm in Shrop-

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(I) Zieglschmid, A. J. F., Das Klein Geschichtsbuch, Philadelphia, 1947, p. 658.



shire, and there, in March, 1942, the Brethren founded the Wheathill Bruderhof. (I) The farm consisted of one hundred and eighty acres, situated about twelve miles out of Bridgnorth, Shropshire. The Wheathill Bruderhof still flourishes at the time of this writing, with one hundred and twenty-five members. They still retain the printing press and continue to publish some church literature. One last fact concerning this English group is worth noting before taking leave of them: They do not seek seclusion to nearly the extent as do the Brethren in Alberta. On the contrary, it seems clear that they are fully conscious of a mission, of a responsibility to society. This sense of duty they attempt to discharge by the publishing of religious tracts and by the sending out of speakers to nearby towns and villages to urge upon all who will listen the desirability of embracing the Hutterian faith. In this respect they follow the example set by the old Moravian Church.

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(I) Ibid.







THE HUTTERITES IN PARAGUAY

At the time of the Hutterian migration from the Cotswold Hills of England to Paraguay, late in 1940, some 4,000 Mennonites were already settled in the little South American republic. The Mennonite Church gave every encouragement to the Hutterites to come out to Paraguay, and the first group to arrive, about two hundred in number, settled close to the Mennonite colonies of Fernheim and Menno in the Chaco region of West Paraguay. Finding this location unsuitable, the Hutterites moved later to East Paraguay to take up land near another Mennonite colony, that of Friesland, on a 20,000 acre tract thirty-five miles east of the Paraguay River at Primavera, Alto Paraguay. Here the second contingent from England joined them in March, 1941, thus increasing the group by another hundred and fifty members. (1)

The journey to Primavera is, to say the least, an exhausting one. From Asuncion the Colony is reached by boat up the Paraguay to the river port of Rosario, a distance of approximately one hundred miles, and thence overland by ox cart the remaining thirty-five miles. (2) The trials and difficulties encountered must have been

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(1) Smith, Willard H., "The Hutterites in Paraguay," Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems, Freeman, S.D., 1946, p. 71.

(2) Ibid.



great indeed. While living quarters were being constructed at Primavera, the Hutterites accepted thankfully the accomodation extended them by the Mennonites at Friesland, but the Mennonites themselves were in too straitened circumstances to render much assistance. The first early months of the new settlement were not easy ones.

Despite initial hardships, the Hutterites made considerable progress in Paraguay. Situated in an area just south of the Tropic of Capricorn, they were soon busy raising such crops as manioc, sorghum, sweet potatoes, peanuts, and melons. They found that they could grow many "lovely fruits, as oranges, lemons, grapes, and grapefruit." (1)

Apparently the Paraguayan government was, and is, quite ready to welcome the Hutterites as settlers willing to open up virgin areas. The Brethren have established themselves at Primavera under the incorporated name of "Sociedad Fratern Al Hutteriana," and they have grown to the point where they now occupy three Bruderhofs: the original one, called Loma Hobby; a second nearby, Isla Margaritha; and a third, founded in June, 1947, named Ibata. (2)

(1) This information is obtained from a letter written by MR. Edmund Cocksedge, a member of the Primavera Colony, June 6, 1947.

(2) Ibid.





The Hutterites in Paraguay differ in several respects from their Brethren in North America. First, with regard to production for sale, the two main commodities in Paraguay are sawn lumber and cattle. There is a large saw mill at Isla Margaritha, and a smaller one at Loma Hobby, both operated by little steam engines which also run the dynamos that supply electric light to the main buildings. For the most part, only soft woods are sawn, and they are made into boards for shipment:-

"The logs which are felled in our forests are brought to the mills by transports which are two large wheels in between which the logs are balanced these are drawn by 6 oxen, and when the road is bad they just hitch on a few more oxen untill each wagon is thru the bad spot in the road. They usually work in groups of 3 transports together as it takes 3 men to load 1 log onto them. The sawn lumber is crated by 4 wheeled wagons drawn by horses down to the river for exporting by ship. These wagons can carry about 600 kilos in good weather. The same wagons are used to transport people and goods from the river inland." (I)

A second, and more striking, point of difference is their sense of mission to this practically unknown part of the world. Quite unlike the Hutterites of Alberta, who wish only to live apart and to be left alone, the Brethren at Primavera are active in preaching and in missionary work designed to win converts to their faith. As an out-

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(I) Ibid. The letter consists of four close typed pages and, despite its errors in grammar and spelling, gives a most interesting account of life in Loma Hobby.





standing attempt in community work they have built a hospital at Loma Hobby. With a staff of three doctors trained in Europe, this hospital makes its services available to everyone, Hutterite and non-Hutterite, in the district. In this connection Mr. Cocksedge's letter reads:

"This Bruderhof (Loma Hobby) is especially influenced by the Hospital which is not only for our own use but mainly for the use of our Paraguayan and Mennonite neighbours. Our Doctors see a daily stream of local people some of whom come for several days stay having travelled by horseback or wagon some distance. For these we have built accomodations by the entrance gates."

This entering into community life is a noticeable departure from usual Hutterian practice. A possible explanation may lie in the fact that, while the Brethren in North America have an origin almost entirely German, those in Paraguay possess one more cosmopolitan in nature. The Primavera group includes among its members families of Belgian, French, Swiss, English and other nationalities as well as German. Whatever the reason, the Hutterites in Paraguay exhibit a very lively interest in community health, education, and culture. One of the causes for their leaving the Chaco territory was that "there were not enough people there among whom they could let their light shine." (I)

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(I) Mr. Cocksedge's letter.



The other characteristics that distinguish the Hutterian faith are all preserved. The Paraguayan Brethren tenaciously retain the principle of community of goods and rigorously uphold the doctrine of non-resistance. In a new and strange Latin environment they continue to carry out their conception of the Christian way of life.

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## THE HUTTERITES IN ONTARIO

The fact that there is one Hutterite colony in the province of Ontario may surprise many readers of this thesis. Nevertheless, such a colony exists, and its brief history to date is pertinent to this chapter on the dispersal of the Hutterian movement.

A certain Julius Kubassek, a worker in various lumber camps in British Columbia, determined to discover what he considered to be a truly Christian manner of life. He accomplished this purpose, at least to his own satisfaction, by joining the Hutterite Colony at Raley, in the winter of 1940 - 1941. In April of 1941 he led a small band out from the Raley Colony to establish a Bruderhof at Ayr, near Glenmorin, Ontario. This Colony continues to operate fairly successfully. It thus forms a branch in Eastern Canada of the Dariusleut Brethren of the original settlement at Wolf Creek, South Dakota. (I)

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(I) Saturday Night, issue of August 31, 1941. No mention of this Ontario Colony is made in Das Klein Geschichtsbuch.







## THE HUTTERIAN FAITH

The seven principles of church doctrine listed on pages 2 and 3 of this thesis form the earliest known confession of faith of the early Swiss Brethren. Drawn up by one of the first martyrs of the movement, a learned monk named Michael Sattler, they were formally adopted by the Swiss Brethren at a conference held at Schlatten, in southern Baden, Switzerland, on February 24, 1527, and ever since have been referred to as the Schlatten Articles.<sup>(I)</sup> The Hutterian Church adopted all seven of these Articles and to them added the doctrine of community of goods and the belief in communal responsibility for the education of children. With practically no changes, these principles form the chief tenets of Hutterian faith today.

To the Hutterites, God is the supreme all-powerful Being to Whom, above all, one must give obedience. The Hutterite's way of life is his religion. His manner of living is God-commanded and God-sanctioned; it is the exclusively right way to live. He is thus born into, and upon baptism accepts, a divine pattern of life of which every detail has been God-willed. The result is

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(I) Horsch, John, The Principle of Nonresistance As Held by the Mennonite Church, Scottdale, Penn., p. 20.



that, throughout the Hutterian movement, there exists a sense of uniqueness, of exclusiveness. The Hutterites feel that they are Gottes kleine Herde, God's small chosen flock, which is following God's wishes in every particular. It is, perhaps, for this reason that they seem not at all perturbed by the fact that they form but a small minority group within society. The missionary zeal of earlier days has been practically abandoned by the Brethren, at least by those in North America. The old pattern of love and mutual aid is, on this continent, largely confined by the Hutterites to themselves; the growth of their colonies is almost exclusively due to natural increase.

This combining of religion with a way of life must be fully appreciated in any study of the Hutterian community. Religion, as they define it, dominates their lives. It is practically impossible to converse with the Elders for more than a few minutes without their referring to the Bible and quoting passages of the scriptures in defense of their beliefs and consequent actions. Our American society of this twentieth century has but little conception of the faith and piety which form the background and ever-present guiding principle of Hutterian

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life. The Hutterite Elder thinks in terms of the Bible, with which he is fully conversant, and refers constantly to it for guidance. Actually, Hutterian doctrines are simple enough; they are not difficult to understand, although non-Hutterians may find them not easy to follow. In this connection, Dr. Clark quite concisely sums up the beliefs of the Hutterite Church:-

"One of the Hutterian Brethren was recently asked what he should name as the chief tenets of their faith, and he replied: 'If I should answer the question just as you ask it, I should say that we believe in a personal God; that Jesus Christ was His only begotten Son; that He came into the world to save humanity through the shedding of His blood on the Cross. In all these things we agree with most evangelical churches. But if you meant to ask what distinguishes us from the other evangelical churches, I should say that we believe in community of goods, and have all our property in common; we believe in non-resistance; we do not take oaths; we do not take or hold public office; and we baptize only upon profession of faith.'" (1)

The most important work on the faith and religious practice of the Hutterites is found in their Confession of Faith and Discipline, written by Peter Riedemann. The book is entitled Rechnenschaft unserer Religion, Lehre and Glaubens (2) and the first edition is supposed to have been printed in 1545. (3) Quite beyond the scope of this thesis, its ninety-five articles give a complete state-

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(1) Clark, op. cit., p. 118

(2) "Exposition of Our Religion, Teaching and Faith."

(3) Horsch, Principle of Nonresistance, p. 27.





ment of all precepts in Hutterian doctrine. The Hutterite of today regards the Rechenschaft as the complete and final authority in all matters pertaining to his religious life. (I)

The Hutterites justify their communal system by reference to Acts 2:44-45 (2) and they defend their policy of isolation, of withdrawal from society, by quoting the injunction "Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord." (3) In addition to Riedemann's work, the Brethren frequently cite the examples and admonitions contained in their Larger Church Chronicle, the Grossen Geschichtsbuch, which relates the history of the Hutterites from their origin to the year 1685. They also possess many old manuscripts and copies of sermons written by their pious ministers and leaders of long ago. The Hutterite Church derives its rules and customs from these old books and writings and the Church, in turn, regulates Hutterian life to the last detail.

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(I) Horsch, The Hutterian Brethren, p. 118.

(2) "And all that believed were together, and had all things common;  
And sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need."

(3) II Corinthians, 6, 17.



Practically every Hutterian custom is religious in its origin. Thus, dress with them is not a matter of taste, it is a matter of religion; their dress, like that of the Sisters in a Catholic convent, is the mark of Hutterian religious belief. The married Brethren wear beards because they believe the Apostles did so; the women cover their heads with a shawl, for such was the custom of women in the Church of long ago.

Mr. Horsch, in his valuable study on Hutterian faith, is at some pains to point out that the Hutterites do not hold the opinion that Christians outside the Brotherhood are lost to salvation, or that the grace of God extends only to those within the Hutterite Church. (I) While they are absolutely and sincerely secure in the belief that the Hutterite doctrine is the only one that truly follows the teachings of Christ and the Apostles, the Brethren make no attempt to judge the other Christian churches. They are content, they say, to leave such judgment to God. They will also admit, quite freely, that there are many individuals within their Church who do not always keep to the "way." In their Larger Church Chronicle

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(I) Horsch, The Hutterian Brethren, p. 128.





the fact is recognized, and regretfully accepted, that "evil men may find their way into the Church." (1)

It has been observed, on page 44 of this thesis, that the Hutterites base their communal system on the teaching of Acts 2: 44-45. (2) Further authority for "living in common" is found in Acts 4: 32-37. (3) Hutterites refer questioners to both these passages and settle the matter, to their own satisfaction at least, by reading the biblical story of Ananias:-

"But a certain man named Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, sold a possession,

And kept back part of the price, his wife also being privy to it, and brought a certain part, and laid it at the apostles' feet.

But Peter said, Ananias, why hath Satan filled thy heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the price of the land?

(1) Ibid, p. 131.

(2) See footnote, p. 44.

(3) "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common.

And with great power gave the apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus: and great grace was upon them all.

Neither was there any among them that lacked; for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold,

And laid them down at the apostles' feet; and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need.

And Joses, who by the apostles was surnamed Barnabas, (which is, being interpreted, The son of consolation,) a Levite, and of the country of Cyprus,

Having land, sold it, and brought the money, and laid it at the apostles' feet."





Whiles it remained, was it not thine own? and after it was sold, was it not in thine own power? why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? thou hast not lied to men, but unto God.

And Ananias hearing these things fell down, and gave up the ghost: and great fear came on all them that heard these things.

And the young men arose, wound him up, and carried him out, and buried him.

And it was about the space of three hours after, when his wife, not knowing what was done, came in.

And Peter said unto her, Tell me whether ye sold the land for so much? And she said, Yea, for so much.

Then Peter said unto her, How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? behold, the feet of them which have buried thy husband are at the door, and shall carry thee out.

Then fell she down straightway at his feet, and yielded up the ghost: and the young men came in, and found her dead, and, carrying her forth, buried her by her husband.

And great fear came upon all the church, and upon as many as heard these things." (I)

Actually, the doctrine of communal ownership has much broader implications than the foregoing biblical injunctions indicate. The principle of community of material wealth possessed for the early Hutterian Church "the highest command of love." (2) The old Geschichtsbuch contains this admonition: "Each one is to consecrate himself with all that he has to the service of God and His Saints." (3) Evidently then, the quotations from the Book of Acts serve mainly as scriptural corroboration of a chosen way.

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(I) Acts 5: 1-11.

(2) Horsch, The Hutterian Brethren, p. 131.

(3) Ibid, p. 131.

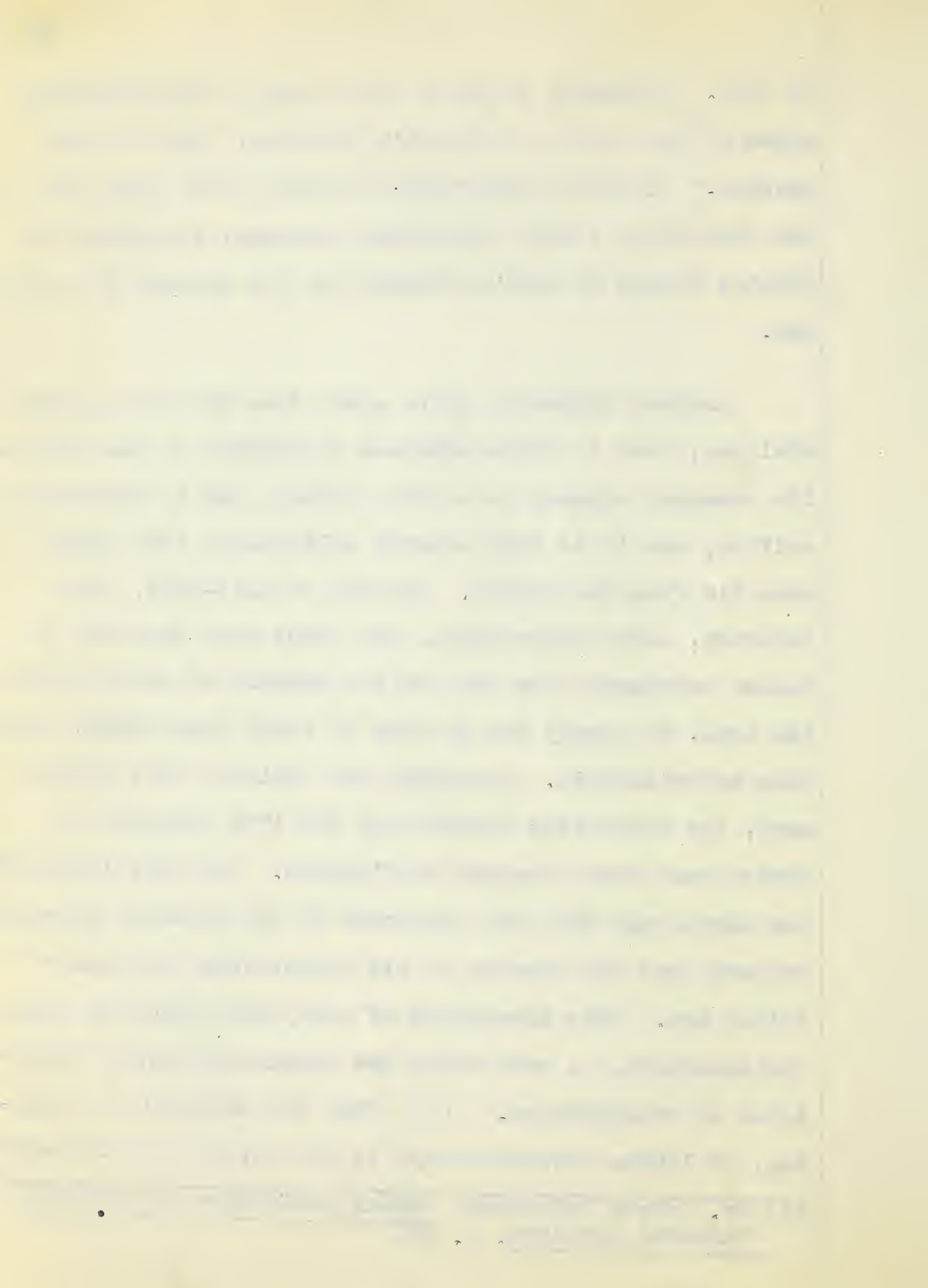


of life. Community of goods is the Hutterian interpretation of the spirit of Christ's teaching, "Love ye one another." In this connection, the word "love" has, for the Hutterite, little sentimental meaning; it rather indicates having an active concern for the welfare of everyone.

Another argument, quite apart from the more scriptural one, that is often advanced in defense of the Hutterite communal economy is to this effect: man is inherently selfish, and it is this natural selfishness that separates him from the Divine. Because of self-will, self-interest, self-centeredness, man tends more and more to become estranged from God; in the pursuit of purely selfish ends, he simply has no time to think upon things other than materialistic. Accepting the truth of this indictment, the Hutterites reason that the true follower of Christ must first conquer selfishness. The Christian life can begin only with the surrender of all personal private property and the sharing of all possessions with one's fellow men. This abnegation of self, the Hutterites term "gelassenheit," a word which the German dictionary translates as "resignation." (I) Thus the principle of sharing, of living cooperatively, is the Hutterian alternative

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(I) Dr. Robert Friedmann, Annual Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems, p. 93.





to the poverty deliberately practiced by the Franciscan Order and the early mendicant monks. It is to achieve this purpose of self-immolation that distribution within the Bruderhof is based on the precept: "To each according to his need, in equal measure with his fellow members."

As for the other main tenet of Hutterian doctrine, that of non-resistance, it may safely be said that the Christian Church in general has always recognized this principle as being inherent in Christ's teaching. The Catholic Church of today holds the belief that non-resistance was taught by Christ but not commanded by Him; thus a Christian may take up arms in war without transgressing a divine command. Martin Luther, in what may appear to be a rather strange ruling, declared a Christian possessed two personalities: he was both a Christian and a citizen. In his role as a citizen, it becomes his duty to obey the government under which he lives, and the rendering of such obedience to governmental authority cannot be regarded as a sin, even though as a Christian he is not permitted to shed blood. (I) The early Swiss Brethren and the Mennonites, as well as the Hutterites, refused to accept this dual conception of a Christian's place in

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(I) Horsch, Principle of Nonresistance, p. 11.





society, and held firmly to the doctrine that a Christian can never resort to armed violence. One must admit that, if the Bible is to be accepted as the authority in the matter, the supporters of non-resistance can, and do, quote a number of passages in defense of their stand. Of such scriptural injunctions, the Hutterites refer most frequently to Deuteronomy 32: 35; (1) Matthew 26: 52; (2) and Romans 12: 19. (3) Riedemann's Rechenschaft deals fully with the principle of non-resistance from the viewpoint of biblical authority. (4)

Yet, although the Hutterites have held consistently to the doctrine of non-resistance, and have suffered persecution throughout their history because of this belief, they do not condemn the use of force by the government of the land. They admit that no nation could maintain its independence for long by simply exercising the Christian virtues and admonitions as portrayed in the Sermon on the Mount; and that wrongdoers could not be punished, nor order maintained in present day society by a strict ad-

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- (1) "To me belongeth vengeance and recompence ....."  
 (2) "Put up again thy sword into its place; for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."  
 (3) "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord."  
 (4) Horsch, The Hutterian Brethren, p. 138 and p. 139, footnote.



herence to the principles of conduct set forth in the gospels. In other words, the Hutterites realize that an imperfect world cannot be ruled by non-resistance and love. But, they hasten to point out, it is not the business of a Christian to be an administrator or an executive of the government; a Christian is not an officer of law enforcement. The Hutterites have decided, although perhaps regretfully, that the precepts enunciated by Christ cannot be reconciled with the demands made upon men by the actual conditions prevailing within a wicked world and it is for this reason that they feel that they must live apart from society.

In considering the causes of Hutterian basic beliefs and practices, Mr. Horsch, and other authorities on the Hutterite movement, refer constantly to the Rechenschaft. In addition to its treatment of communal property and the doctrine of non-resistance, this work deals with a number of other aspects of Hutterian life and faith:-

Taxes: The payment of taxes is ordained and commanded

since civil government has been sanctioned by God in Matthew 22:21 which states: "Render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's." But when taxes are imposed

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for the deliberate and avowed purpose of warfare, such may not be paid. (I)

Lawsuits: The Rechenschaft forbids all quarrels or suits at law by Christians. The Hutterite is exhorted to heed the teaching in I Corinthians 6: 1-8 (2) and to govern himself by the advice given in Matthew 5:40: "If any man sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also." I have been able to find no case in America or elsewhere in which the Hutterites have been involved in law. Their action in Alberta, in

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(I) Rechenschaft, p. 107, cited in Horsch, The Hutterian Brethren, p. 138.

(2) "Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints?"

Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world? and if the world shall be judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the smallest matters?

Know ye not that we shall judge angels? how much more things that pertain to this life?

If then ye have judgments of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are the least esteemed in the church.

I speak to your shame. Is it not so, that there is not a wise man among you? no, not one that shall be able to judge between his brethren?

But brother goeth to law with brother, and that before the unbelievers.

Now therefore there is utterly a fault among you, because ye go to law one with another. Why do ye not rather take wrong? why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded?

Nay, ye do wrong, and defraud, and that your brethren."



hiring counsel to present a brief on their behalf before an investigating committee of the provincial legislature in 1947, was unique in this respect. The presenting of a brief is hardly in the same category as a lawsuit, yet the engaging of a lawyer was bitterly condemned by many Hutterites at the time. (I)

The Keeping of Inns and Taverns: In connection with the maintenance of inns and taverns, it may be of interest to quote the Rechenschaft itself:

"We do not permit one of our Brotherhood to be a public innkeeper, to sell wine or beer, since all kinds of immoral, ungodly and wicked things take place in connection with the same, and all drunken, worthless fellows come together in the drinking houses to carry out their wantonness, to whom the innkeeper gives place and is compelled to be witness to their blasphemy. This, however, we do, and do rightfully: If some one is absent from his home and must lodge at a strange place and comes to one of our Brethren, he is taken in and entertained, served and hospitably treated according to our ability, not however for money, but free and without cost. We find that the saints of old did likewise, showing hospitality." (2)

Hutterian religion retains the belief in the "fall of man" and its consequent "original sin." The Hutterite Church teaches that man, through Adam, has inherited a sinful nature, but that all infants are saved through Christ's redemption from original sin. Thus original sin

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(I) At least, so I was informed by the Granum Brethren.

(2) Rechenschaft, p. 110, cited in Horsch, The Hutterian Brethren, p. 139.





is inherited by the child, but that is a natural event and bears with it its own penalty - that of natural death. The Hutterian Brethren do not believe in the efficacy of "good works" as leading to eternal salvation. Earnestly they quote scripture to prove that all works of man are but sin and unrighteousness; only in so far as they are Christ's works, and to the extent that Christ is doing His work through those of His followers, can such works become good, and acceptable to God. In other words, the Hutterite believes in the combination of faith and good works and that faith must be active through love.

The Hutterian manner of worship is all strict simplicity and sobriety. It is quite devoid of ornament. In the Hutterite Church there is no instrumental music, no pictures nor statues, no towers nor bells, no display of any kind. The national flag, high on the wall above the blackboard in the school-room, is taken down if that same room is used, after school, for religious service. The commandment, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth":, is observed to the letter. (I)

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(I) Exodus, 20:4.





This ultra-conservatism of the Hutterian religion becomes more understandable when it is realized that the Brethren wholly reject the opinion that the world is in a process of evolution into the kingdom of God through the progress of civilization. While conscious of the advance that humanity has made in education, in the field of technology and science, and in movements for moral and social reforms, the Hutterites believe that such advance has failed utterly to change for the better either man as an individual or the character of the world in general. To support this statement, Hutterites point out the fact that the latest developments in science are utilized in the unprecedented destruction of human life in war. They do not look upon Christ as One attempting to save the world through reform movements, but rather as the Redeemer of those who first have been saved personally through faith, and who have become His followers. It is for this reason that the entire life of the Hutterite colony is pervaded with the spirit of its religious convictions, and that the highest aim of the Brethren is to achieve a life in fellowship with God. So the old patterns of conduct are important to the Hutterites because they are traditional; because they are the original ways and opinions set for the Church by the early followers of the

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Hutterian faith. The Hutterite resists changes in the fear that he may lose these venerable concepts together with the principles that first invoked them. He fears that change of any kind will affect his way of life adversely. As one of the Hutterian Elders remarked very seriously to me, "Any departure from the old ways is bad; one thing soon leads to another." (I)

There are daily religious services as well as the Sunday ones. No bell calls the members to worship, but in some Bruderhofs a little child is sent around to summon everyone. Church is usually held in the same building that is used for school purposes. Sometimes the minister will have prepared his own sermon, but generally he reads and comments upon biblical passages. No musical instrument is ever used, but the members do sing the ancient hymns of the martyrs of four centuries ago. The singing is in unison and never by parts; the minister

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(I) This remark occurred in the course of a discussion with a Hutterian minister. He had asked the question why the Hutterites were not better liked by their neighbours, and I had replied with the suggestion that the Colony could, and should, enter more fully into the life of the community. As a case in point, I mentioned the need for a skating rink within the district, something that the Hutterites could easily have built. The good man's answer, in itself a question, was rather staggering: "Tell me," he said, "did Jesus Christ ever skate?" To my perplexed reply that Christ had lived in a land where ice seldom existed, he answered with the remark quoted above.







intones each line and then pauses while it is re-sung by the congregation. (I)

Church regulations with regard to marriage are very strict, although the old practice of having marriage arrangements made entirely by the Elders, with scant attention paid to the wishes of the parties involved, has been largely discontinued. Guidance on the part of the Elders still exists, and there is little in the nature of romantic courtship. Marriage within the colony is common, but that between members of different colonies within the same group is encouraged. All marriages are performed by the minister in close conformity with the laws of the state or province, a fact that should lessen the danger of inbreeding. Weddings are often the occasion for festive gatherings; frequently several couples may be united at one time. Marital relations within the Bruderhof are usually quite happy, and there seems to be very little quarreling between husband and wife. The men are not permitted to grow beards until they are married; after that event they are required to do so. The women are submissive and possess no voice in the administration of affairs, although they may have a certain degree of influence be-

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(1) The Hutterites claim the oldest hymns in regular use in any American church. They were re-published in one volume, Die Lieder der Hutterischen Bruder, Scottdale, Penn., 1914.



hind the scenes. Children are disciplined, punished when necessary, but there is remarkably little scolding. There is no divorce.

One does not become a member of a Hutterite Colony until the rite of Baptism has been administered. Baptism may take place at any time after the candidate has passed his sixteenth birthday, but it is usually performed at the age of twenty years. The ceremony consists in sprinkling with water and the laying on of hands by the minister.

The formal doctrines of the Hutterian faith, together with the Twelve Articles of the Church, are given in the appendix to this thesis. This chapter may properly conclude by a final emphasis on the fact that the Hutterite places religion above every other interest; his whole life is a religion. Dr. Bertha Clark sums up this Hutterian conception of life in the following passage:-

"As you sit talking with your host (in a Hutterian Colony) quietly, without any formality of knocking, the men and the women, the boys and the girls, file into the room, all eager to hear the conversation of the stranger. There will be but one subject discussed, no matter how cleverly you try to avoid it: and that subject will be religion; for it is the one subject that permeates all Hutterian thought, the one subject in the light of which the Brethren judge of every other." (I)





## THE HUTTERIAN ORGANIZATION

Two men stand at the head of every Bruderhof: the Minister, who takes charge of the religious and spiritual aspects of Hutterite life, and the Wirt or Steward, better known as the "Boss", who is responsible for the economic functioning of the Colony. To assist these two in the work of administration there is a council of five or more Elders. As a general rule, all these leaders hold office for life. No office is hereditary, although often enough a son will succeed his father in a position of responsibility.

The preacher or minister, who may properly be regarded as the leader of the council, obtains his position through a strange combination of democratic election and appeal to divine guidance. Whenever a new minister is to be chosen, the male members of the Colony nominate those Brethren whom they feel to be most worthy of this high office. The names of the nominees are then placed in a hat on slips of paper, God's guidance is invoked, and one slip is drawn from the hat. The Brother whose name is drawn is then declared elected. In this way, say the Hutterites, "the community elects, but it is God who chooses." Generally, however, there are two preachers

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in a community, or rather a minister and his assistant. It is then customary for the assistant to succeed to the ministry, while the position of assistant is filled by the procedure just described.

The members of a Hutterite Colony are only those adults who have received baptism in the Church. The male members of the Colony elect the "Boss" or Wirt (I) and the Council of Elders. This assembly of males retains considerable power, for, although it delegates great authority to the leaders, it reserves the right to depose the minister, the Wirt, or any of the Council in case of proven unfaithfulness or incapacity. The assembly is the voting body of the Colony, and all matters of importance are presented to it for decision. The vote must be unanimous in affairs of extreme consequence. Business of minor concern is settled as a rule by the Wirt and the Council.

The leader best known to the outside world is the Wirt. It is he who handles the daily transactions and who has charge of the common purse. The Wirt plans and oversees all Bruderhof activities, and under him are placed the numerous managers of the Colony. Each of the latter has his own special department in the common econ-

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(I) Clark, op. cit., p. 365. Dr. Clark regards the term "Boss" as an "unfortunate" one. She prefers "Steward."



omy for which he is responsible to the Wirt and to his Brethren. A manager or "sub-boss" is elected by simple majority vote. A list of these department heads would include:-

Field Boss  
Cattle Boss  
Hog Boss  
Sheep Boss  
Chicken Boss  
Geese Boss  
Duck Boss  
Turkey Boss (1)  
Blacksmith  
Carpenter  
Beekeeper  
Shoemaker  
Horse Boss  
Head Cook (2)  
Garden Woman

Each manager receives from the Wirt whatever he needs in the way of supplies, and returns to him all the proceeds resulting from his particular branch of the Colony's activities.

There is absolutely no private property within the Colony. A member can be called upon to return to the common holding the very clothes that he wears, although for practical reasons this would rarely be done. There is no system of inheritance; when a member dies, all his

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(1) Frequently absent in Alberta colonies. The raising of turkeys is not popular with the Brethren here.

(2) Generally a woman.





possessions - or at least those things which he used in life - are simply redistributed. Nor is there any need for currency within the Colony. All money is deposited with the local banks for use in the world outside.

A great deal of work goes on in a Hutterite Colony, and the Brethren display considerable organizing ability. Every person, even including the children, has his task; there is frequent ringing of the big bell, groups of labourers arrive and depart, but there is remarkably little confusion or loss of time.

The Hutterites have always enjoyed the reputation for being industrious workers and excellent farmers. In their earlier history they achieved a notable degree of variety in industry as well as skill in handicraft, but they found manufacturing too well organized in America to permit successful competition. Today they manufacture practically nothing for sale; they devote their energies almost exclusively to agriculture instead.

No idleness is permitted within the Colony. Even the minister, when not engaged in his religious duties, must work at some trade or help in the fields. On the whole, the Hutterites like their work, and take pride in doing

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it well. There is no overwork. Disagreeable tasks are rotated throughout the Colony and alternation of work is thereby provided. The women are grouped into gangs or squads, and it is among these groups that alternation of tasks is particularly observed. Each squad works at a certain occupation for two weeks, and then changes over to some other type of activity. The details of the women's work are arranged by the head cook. The women have no hesitation in declaring that they prefer working in cooperation, as much of the drudgery of housework is removed when a number of women work together at a common task. They have time during the day for rest and gossip, and at such times they do a great deal of knitting and spinning of wool on old-fashioned spinning wheels. Perhaps the fact that the household duties are on such a large scale makes for greater interest. Here is a recipe used in one Colony for cookies:-

12. lb. lard  
 56 cups milk  
 72 eggs  
 36 lb. sugar  
 60 lb. flour

Dr. Clark points out that this alternation of tasks antedates the system propounded by Fourier by three hundred years. (I)





Certain activities are forbidden in the Colony. There can be no dealing in grain futures, as gambling in any form is prohibited. No money may be loaned for interest, and no insurance is taken out on either life or property. They do not like to hire out their labour, although this is sometimes done, particularly at a neighbour's request for aid. Hutterites will rarely work on a Sunday.

The number of inhabitants of a Bruderhof varies, but it seldom exceeds two hundred. Groups larger than this were found to be unwieldy and difficult to manage efficiently. When the population of a Colony becomes too large, the members divide, and establish a "daughter" colony elsewhere. The families to migrate are chosen by lot, although sometimes cliques that have formed are broken up by mutual consent. Money is advanced by the parent colony to aid in the establishment of the new Bruderhof, but such assistance is always regarded as a loan to be repaid when the daughter colony has achieved security. In this manner the original twelve Colonies founded in Alberta have increased to the forty-one now established in this province.

An examination of the Hutterian Articles of Incorporation

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poration reveals how closely the organization is linked with the religious beliefs of its members. The purpose of the incorporated body is declared to be the "promotion, engaging in, and carrying on of the Christian religion, Christian worship, and religious education and teachings, according to our religious belief that all members should act together as one being, and have, hold, use, possess, and enjoy all things in common ....." and "to engage in and carry on farming, stock-raising, milling, and all branches of these industries, and to manufacture and deal in the products and by-products of these industries." (I)

Community of goods exists only between the members of the same colony, and not at all between the different colonies. One colony has no claim whatever upon the goods or wealth of another colony, excepting, of course, in the case of a loan made by a parent colony to a daughter. Colonies sometimes trade among themselves, but on a strictly money basis. It is true, however, that when a community is in distress, others will come to its aid; such assistance is regarded as a loan to be repaid as soon as possible. Every Brudernhof is expected to stand on its own resources.

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(I) Zieglschmid, A.J.F., op. cit., p. 613 ff.



While each Bruderhof exercises the fullest control over its own economic affairs, it leaves all important decisions in spiritual matters to the bishop or Aeltester of the group, Smith, Darius, or Teacher, to which it belongs. "At irregular intervals conferences are held to which the different communities send delegates, and at which matters of common concern along spiritual lines are debated. The conclusions arrived at in these meetings have great weight with the local Bruderhofs." (I)

Members who refuse to conform to established behaviour are disciplined. For adults, punishment varies from admonition in the case of minor offenses to excommunication and banishment from the Colony when the offense is of a serious nature. Within this latter class, the breaking of the rules of communal ownership and the yielding to the temptations of the outside world are regarded as extremely grave. Corporal punishment is used on the children, if it is thought necessary.

The Colony is one big family, which is another reason for keeping its numbers small enough that each member may know every other member well, on terms of mutual familiarity. Our largest cooperatives have little to





teach, and perhaps some things to learn from, the Hutterite Colonies. Engaged for the most part in dry land farming, the Hutterites buy the best power machinery in large scale purchases for cash, and they sell their produce, also for cash, on the best market the Wirt can find. Money is banked against the day when more land and more machinery must be purchased.

Whoever joins a Hutterite Colony surrenders all that he has to it. If he should desire later to leave, he may demand nothing back; he can take nothing with him. In this respect, as indeed in all others pertaining to their faith, the Hutterian Brethren have never departed from the convictions of their fathers of the sixteenth century. For over four hundred years they have maintained a communistic society based upon Christian principles. It is in their determined devotion to the old ways that they differ from their co-religionists, the Mennonites, who have in many respects adopted new customs and a more liberal outlook to conform with the ideas and customs of present day society.

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### HUTTERIAN EDUCATION

During the earlier period of their history, in the sixteenth century, education, which in those times reached only a small part of the population, was so well maintained by the Hutterites that "hardly an illiterate person could be found amongst them." (1) The Hutterite schools were held in such high esteem that they were attended by the children of other faiths. The early Brethren placed special emphasis upon the art of handwriting and upon the principles of formal debate. It is claimed that the Hutterian defense against the attack upon their faith by Melanchton in the Process at Worms, 1557, was written by the children under the direction of their teacher, Barthel Fliegel. (2) The claim is also advanced that the Hutterian schools were the first in Europe to employ definite measures to prevent the spread of infectious diseases. In still another respect, that of technical training, the methods used in our modern technical schools were preceded by those adopted by the Hutterian Brethren of four centuries ago. All this, however, applies to their past.

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(1) Arnold, op., cit., p. 14.

(2) Ibid, p. 15.





Yet it is always to their past that we must turn to reach an understanding of any of the fundamental principles of Hutterian culture. With regard to education, the first Hutterite community in Moravia established a school organization which attained considerable reputation in Europe. Special provision for adult education was made under the direction of one of their first teachers, a former priest named Jeronymus Kaels. (I) There were usually two schools within the Bruderhof: the small school, or kleine Schule, attended by children from two and one-half to six years of age, and the large school or teitscha Schul, where the older children received instruction. In the small school, which anticipated Froebel's Kindergarten by two hundred and seventy-five years, the children were placed under the supervision of the "school mother". In the large school they received instruction from a male teacher, generally the minister himself or his assistant. The following extract from the Rechenschaft illustrates the principles involved in the early Hutterian educational system:-

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(I) Horsch, op. cit., p. 33. Kaels suffered martyrdom at Vienna in 1536.





"Sisters who have been found qualified are appointed for the small schools by the church. It is their duty to care for the children, and, as soon as they can talk, to lay the word of the testimony of God into their mouths. They teach them to pray and to understand whatever is within the child's grasp. In this school the children are kept until they are able to learn to read and write, at about five or six years. At this age they are given over to the school master who teaches them, and in addition leads them on in the knowledge of God, so they learn to know and do the will of God. .... So we teach our children from little up to seek not the temporal but the eternal things." (I)

The following extracts are quoted by Horsch from a treatise written in 1578 on Hutterian pedagogy:-

"Great care and discrimination is necessary in the training of children. Often a child can be trained and taught with kind words while severity would be all in vain. Another may be won with rewards, while strictness may be necessary to teach and train the third. Therefore the training of children should be done in the fear of the Lord.

The schoolmasters and schoolmistresses shall see to it that the children do not hear quarreling, disunity and loud talking. They shall inspire them to gentleness and self-control by means of the example of a peaceful, friendly, long-suffering, well-disciplined life and quiet demeanor, avoiding all unbecoming, unnecessary talk so that the children will have no occasion for talking about the teachers.

Neither a brother nor a sister shall be permitted in discipline of either small or large children to be harsh, rude, or angry, or to use blows to injure, or to strike the child on the head or mouth.

Sisters who are in charge of the kindergarten shall take care that the old nature does not get the



upper hand with them. They shall not be too severe inasmuch as we see that the Lord also does not deal with us according to our deserts but according to grace.

When children are brought to the school, they shall be carefully examined. If there is evidence of some contagious disease, they shall be segregated at once in sleeping, drinking, and especially in washing." (I)

The extracts grow too long for further quotation, despite their interest to the teacher of today. In brief, they continue to warn those in charge of children that all exhibition of ill temper, all sarcasm, all angry phrases such as "You naughty children," must be avoided. Instructors are admonished to give the most loving care to their pupils and to watch over the health and comfort of all the youth in the school. There is nothing involved in this old philosophy that could not be applied to the children's schools today. In fact most of it is, in theory at least.

While it would seem likely that there was some provision made for teacher training, there is nothing written in the old records concerning secondary education. Certainly such higher education was not stressed. The fact that the world's scholars completely rejected the Hutterian way of life with its narrow interpretation of Christian





principles, soon resulted in the Hutterites becoming prejudiced against academic study. Among Hutterian leaders there evolved the feeling that more advanced learning would tend to dissatisfaction with a rural, agricultural form of life, the only form in which the leaders of the Brethren could see any possibility of future existence for their communal society.

Thus it followed that, at an early stage in Hutterian development, their school curriculum became quite restricted. History was excluded, because it glorified the deeds of war; dead languages were not taught because they had prevented for so long a period a study of the Bible, and once the scriptures had been translated, there was presumably no further use for the study of ancient tongues. Dialectics, logic and oratory were dispensed with as they were studies which only, in Hutterian opinion, serve to delude men. In place of this formal instruction, every boy was taught a trade, and every child trained to read, write, and cipher. (I)

In Europe the Hutterites had control over their own schools. Upon coming to America, changes in their system were necessary in order to conform with state and provincial laws regarding education. As a result, much of the



old system disappeared. The Little School, however, still remains in every Bruderhof of the Hutterian Brotherhood of today.

In Alberta, the Hutterite child begins his education in the Little School, in most cases at the age of three years. He enters the private school set up by the Colony under the provincial law at the age of six, and here he is taught by outside teachers hired by the Colony. These teachers must hold Alberta certificates and the school itself is inspected regularly by an Inspector appointed by the provincial Department of Education. Here the child remains until the age of fifteen years as required by the School Attendance Act. During this time his education is entirely under the jurisdiction of the province in that he is taught the various subjects of the public school curriculum throughout the hours of the prescribed school day. No sooner does the "outside" teacher close school at the end of the day than the Hutterite teacher takes over, and the so-called German school begins, and continues for at least another hour. The process of education must seem a long and dreary one to the Hutterite child, and, as a rule, he is quite happy to leave the Colony's private school, with its "outside" teacher, when he has reached the age of fifteen. Happy or not, no child

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is permitted by the Colony to remain in the private school after his fifteenth birthday. For this reason, very few Hutterite children progress beyond Grade Eight.

The Hutterites remain opposed to higher education chiefly because they are still convinced that it makes for dissatisfaction with a simple, homely existence, and with manual toil. One Colony in Alberta will refer sadly to what they regard as a typical case, illustrative of the result of too much learning: One of their young men, who showed considerable promise as a student, was permitted to go on into High School study, with the idea that he would be the better qualified later to take up the Hutterian ministry. But instead of pursuing any such laudable aim, this young man broke away from the Colony entirely, one of the very few, incidentally, who have done so. He ended by joining the United States Marines and was later promoted to the rank of First Sergeant in the course of World War II. He is now, I understand, on the Reserve of the U. S. Marines, and, although he sometimes visits his old Colony, he has never shown the slightest repentance or desire to return to Bruderhof life.

Despite its antipathy towards secondary education, the Hutterian system has some degree of merit. There are

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no illiterates among the Hutterites. The small children learn to memorize a rich store of nursery rhymes and jingles. There are a few simple games, but practically nothing that resembles organized sports. A large part of what would otherwise be play time is spent in practical activities, in the learning of techniques and methods employed in various occupations. At an early age, girls are taught sewing and knitting, the art of spinning, and cooking. Hutterite boys learn both field and animal husbandry, and every boy is taught a trade. The children show considerable inventiveness, and are proud of their accomplishments. They all speak and write English and German, and are not backward in conversation. They frequently exhibit an eagerness that is, perhaps, understandable, to talk with the visitor from the world outside.

In concluding this description of the Hutterian educational system, it may be of significance to quote from a letter written by Mr. Owen Williams, Inspector of Schools for the Province of Alberta:-

1108-7th Ave. S.  
Lethbridge, Alta.  
Jan. 12, 1934

The Hon. J. E. Brownlee  
Edmonton, Alberta  
Sir:

At the request of the Hutterite Brethren of Southern Alberta I am testifying to the efficiency



of the schools in the Colonies where public school districts have been organized.

As the official trustee for these districts I have been responsible for the selection of teachers and for the maintenance of their schools during the year. The leaders of these Colonies have always co-operated with the Department of Education in the schools and have invariably supported their teachers.

When the isolation of the children in these schools is considered their attainments in the English branches is (sic) all the more remarkable.

. . . .

During the inspection of these schools I have never witnessed mentally deficient children. In fact the Hutterites have the proud boast that since their arrival on this continent only one instance of such is on record.

I believe that if the present system of Official Trusteeship is maintained over the Colony schools, we shall secure as good results for them as in the ordinary ungraded schools of the province.

Your obedient servant,

Owen Williams  
Inspector of Schools.

The foregoing letter was presented by Mr. Turcotte, a barrister, in the Brief submitted before the Committee of the Alberta Legislature appointed to examine into Hutterian affairs. (1) The Brief presented copies of letters from thirteen teachers of various Hutterite schools. All thirteen were favourably disposed toward the Colonies. (2)

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(1) This is the Brief mentioned on page 53, and referred to throughout the chapter on the Hutterian Controversy.  
(2) See pages 129 and 130.





They speak well of the children's cleanliness and manners, of their neatly kept, warm school buildings, and of the fine spirit of cooperation shown the teachers by the Hutterian Elders. The letters leave the impression that the education of Hutterite children within the Colonies' private schools is fairly good, in so far as it goes. The trouble, of course, is that it does not go nearly far enough.

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### HUTTERIAN COMMUNITY HEALTH

Contrary to what might be expected from conditions associated with living within the Bruderhof, the health of the Colony seems to maintain itself at a relatively high level. Hutterian emphasis on general cleanliness has been noted several times in this thesis, and cleanliness is a most valuable factor in securing good health. Every Colony has a bath or shower house, generally with hot water available. (I) All dwelling houses, as well as those where food is processed or served, are kept scrubbed and clean.

Each Colony possesses its own midwives, as well as the community "bone-setter," the latter being comparable to a good first-aid man. All serious cases of illness or accident are taken to the nearest hospital for treatment.

There appears to be no adequate statistics available to determine the mental or physical health standards of the Hutterites. A study made by Mr. Lee Emerson Deets, in connection with certain colonies in South Dakota, found a high birth rate and a low death rate among the Brethren there. But the study also discovered that the infant mor-

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(I) Note Diagram of Granum Colony, End paper.



tality rate was high, and came to the conclusion that, "once the hazards of infancy have been escaped, the Hutterian community is an unusually healthy place." (I) On the whole, the Hutterites appear healthy; the children look contented, happy and well-fed. They all possess excellent mental health, a fact that has been attributed to the freedom from the tension and strain of economic worry that their way of living permits them to enjoy.

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(I) Dr. Lee Emerson Deets, The Hutterites, A Study in Social Cohesion, Ph. D. thesis, Columbia University, 1939, pp. 17-18.





### A TYPICAL HUTTERITE COLONY

Although the description that follows applies directly to the Gramum Colony, the one with which I am best acquainted, the chief points of interest discussed will be found true of any Hutterite colony, as they all resemble one another quite closely. The Gramum Colony is a good average one, situated about four and one-half miles west and two miles south of the town of Gramum, Alberta. The group here number one hundred and twenty-five in population, and farm 6,721 acres.

Upon entering the gates, one is reminded of a small village or hamlet, with the dwelling houses arranged along two main streets. The buildings vary greatly in size and shape, but the living quarters are two-storied, quite long, and of frame construction. (1) These dwellings have no kitchens nor dining rooms, and, to quote Dr. Clark, are really dormitories. (2) Situated to one side is a much larger one-story structure which serves as the common kitchen and dining room.

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(1) This statement applies to those buildings constructed by the Brethren. In buying up land, they frequently purchased the farm buildings as well, and moved them into the common center. These, of course, may be of all sizes, shapes, and colours.

(2) Clark, op., cit., p. 360.



The Hutterites are the friendliest of peoples, and visitors are made welcome at all times. Some one is always at hand to conduct the stranger through the Colony and explain its many interesting features. An outsider, upon his first visit to the Hutterian community, will be taken to the school house and called to admire the scrupulously clean floor and walls. He will be told that the building also is used as the church, and will be impressed by the fact that the room is as neat as the proverbial pin, and that the children's desks fairly shine. But he will note that everything is plain and bare of ornament in conformity with Hutterian simplicity of life. He will find here no attempt at landscaping; there are no lawns nor flowered walks around the school or any other building. Every effort is made to avoid any appearance of ostentation.

The Hutterites are good farmers, and by no means adverse to the use of modern machinery. In the community laundry the visitor will see the large tubs, powered by gasoline or electricity. (I) The Colony possesses modern milking machines and powered cream separators and churns. The bakery is set up apart from the kitchen. Here the

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(I) The Granum Colony, like many others, has its own electric plant. Some, but not all, of the dwellings have electric light.





big sheet-iron ovens turn out large, round loaves of good wheat bread with a hard, crusty top. Some Colonies have their own mills where they grind chop and feed, but the most of them obtain their flour from the nearest grist mill. A stranger cannot fail to be impressed by the self-contained economy of a Hutterite community. The Bruderhof has its own machine-repair shop, a blacksmith shop, and a shoe-maker's shop; in some Colonies there is a broom shop. The carpenter's shop contains a good lathe and a complete equipment of tools. There are buildings for the chickens and fowl; the bee-keeper has a shed where he can extract honey; there are numerous granaries, barns for the horses and cattle, sheds for the sheep and for housing machinery. There is a tannery, and even a book-bindery. The average Hutterite Colony is a big enterprise.

The gardens contain every type of vegetable that can be grown profitably, but no flowers. The Brethren use the best seed, and change the areas allotted to potatoes every few years. Some of the garden produce is sold locally, but most of it finds its way to the community dining hall.

There are large flocks of ducks, geese and chickens.



Goose feathers are used in the big over-stuffed pillows, and these, too, are sometimes sold. The entire Bruderhof bustles with activity, yet no one is over-worked, for there are many hands available.

A large bell, hung in a central location, calls the members to meals, and to work assignments. When meal time arrives, the visitor will be invited to the community table, for the Hutterites are as hospitable as they are friendly. No payment for the meal will be asked or accepted

(I) Entry to the dining hall is through the kitchen, where the women assigned to the task of preparing the meal are at work. Good water is on tap in the kitchen, and the members pause to drink there, before entering the dining room. Here there are tables, bare of covering but sometimes painted red, with wooden benches seating four persons to each side. This room is large, for adults only, with men and women seated on opposite sides. The children have their own room, adjoining the main hall, with small benches and tables. The table service is of plain enamel with large white stone cups. Every four members eat from a common dish, and plates are generally dispensed with. The food supplied, while not rich, is wholesome. There will likely be a thick soup of vegetables and noodles, served with fried eggs or stewed meat. There is always





plenty of bread and butter, and sometimes "kuchen" or cake, generally unfrosted. At the children's tables is abundance of fresh milk. Fish, kept frozen in the large refrigerator room or ice house, is a favourite article of diet. The meal begins, and ends, with a prayer, or blessing. (I)

If conversation is desired, the evening is the best time to visit the Colony. The Brethren love to talk, and to listen to the remarks of someone from the "outside". The visitor is conducted to the minister's apartment, or to that of the Wirt, where he may take the opportunity to examine the interior of a Hutterite family home. Each large dwelling house is divided into suites, the size and number of rooms in each suite varying according to the needs of the family occupying it. The first room entered is not large, and serves as a sitting room. All the other rooms are used as sleeping quarters. Everything is freshly washed and clean, with the few articles of furniture carefully arranged. There are no pictures on the walls, except a calendar or two, and no mirrors as a rule, unless it be a very small one indeed.

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(I) Blessing before Meals: "Bless us, Heavenly Father, Thy gift which we receive from your rich mild hand through Jesus Christ our Saviour." Amen.

Blessing after Meals: "We praise Thee, Lord, for food and drink. Serve us more with Thy Spirit through Jesus Christ." Amen.





The furnishings are extremely simple. The bed is big, piled high with feather ticks and covered with a plain spread. Each family possesses a large chest, beautifully made, in which spare items of clothing are kept. There may be a cupboard for books, or a book-shelf on the wall, for many of the Brethren love to read the old works of former Hutterite leaders. (I) Upstairs are the children's rooms, and the quarters for those not yet married.

The visitor soon finds that he is engaged in a conversation that shows no signs of lagging, and whose main topic is religion. He will be asked many questions regarding his own church, for it is assumed by his hosts that he must belong to some church. The questions will be accompanied by comments on Hutterian beliefs, and a sincere attempt to explain and justify them. During the talking, other members of the Colony will quietly enter the room, without knocking, for there is little conception of privacy of dwelling within the Bruderhof. In a short while the room is filled, thus affording an occasion to observe the dress of the Brethren more closely.

Clothing is uniform, plain, and serviceable. The men wear dark suits with loose, baggy trousers and sack

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(I) Each Hutterite family possesses a copy of Professor Zieglschmid's Das Klein Geschichtsbuch.



coats. Members of the Lehrerleut have adopted the extreme innovation of buttons, but those of the Dariusleut and the Schmiedleut continue to put their faith in hooks and eyes. Men's hats are round and black. The women wear dark dresses with long, full skirts. The waists are plain, with long sleeves. A low necked dress is, of course, unheard of amongst them. Around the buildings they wear kerchiefs on their heads, but prefer sun-bonnets in the fields. As has been noted on page 45 of this thesis, dress is not a matter of personal taste with the Hutterites, but of religion.

One last section of the Bruderhof remains to be described. Each Hutterite Colony has its own private cemetery, located in an inconspicuous corner of some field. Here, in quiet graves, unmarked by stones or names, the Brethren finally rest as unostentatiously as they have lived.

It may be of interest to conclude this chapter on a typical Bruderhof by quoting a few statistics. The figures that follow are true of the Granum Colony, but may be regarded as being applicable to any good, average Hutterite community: The Granum Brethren number twenty families, with a total population of one hundred and twenty-five. Of the 6,721 acres held, some 3,000 are cultivated

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and the rest is in pasture. In round numbers, this Colony possesses 300 head of cattle, 80 horses, 400 ewes, 150 hogs, 1000 geese, 500 ducks, 1200 laying hens. They raise no turkeys, and they purchase baby chicks from the various hatcheries. With regard to machinery and farm equipment, the Granum Brethren own three trucks, two two-ton and one one-ton vehicles. They have four tiller combines and one thresher combine, five tractors, and a complete set of farm implements. In addition to the thresher combine, they possess a full threshing outfit for stook threshing including stook loaders and a grain separator. In the dairy barn milking machines are used to milk some twenty cows.

The Granum Colony has a book bindery with the minister, Mr. Peter Tschetter, at its head, where old writings and manuscripts have been beautifully bound in leather. The volume of Horsch at my elbow, (I) from which I have quoted so frequently in this thesis, was bound by Mr. Tschetter in fabrioid. The Colony owns some fine old books; among others, they possess a copy of the New Testament, published in 1593, and a rare German Ecclesiastical Dictionary, printed at Jena, in 1725.

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(I) Reference here is to Horsch, The Hutterian Brethren.



SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF HUTTERIANISM

The economic advantages that result from the Hutterite communal system have been noted several times in the writing of this thesis; they may briefly be summarized as follows:-

(1) Stress is placed upon production for use to satisfy basic wants.

(2) The system has achieved diversification of work and steady employment.

(3) The Hutterian cooperative method of production has unquestionably facilitated large-scale agricultural methods and the use of modern power machinery.

(4) A comparatively simple standard of living has resulted in a limited consumption of goods. Even in times of agricultural depression the Colonies suffer very little, economically.

(5) The Colony is a highly self-sufficient unit. This self-sufficiency is an important factor in assisting the group to weather periods of economic crises.

(6) Within the Colony, the individual member possesses security. His security is permanent, as a member may be expelled only for the gravest offenses and on the verdict

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of the entire Colony.

(7) The individual is free from economic worry. Financial problems are the concern of the Wirt and the elected Council.

In addition to the above economic advantages, certain psychological and sociological effects of Hutterian group living are apparent. Anyone who has visited a Hutterite Colony has been impressed by the atmosphere of satisfaction with life in general that prevails there. It would seem that the spirit of friendly cooperation that has replaced competitive effort has resulted in unhurried work and consequent better production. Another noticeable effect is that mental and emotional health within the group is maintained at a high level; there are few quarrels, fewer crimes, and no suicides. Among the Hutterites the sense of security predominates. Strong in their faith, secure in their economy, the Brethren exhibit self-confidence, directness, and a certain dignity.

Many of these sociological effects are of distinct advantage to individual and group alike. The "we" feeling, developed from centuries-old behaviour patterns, calls upon every member to participate fully in the

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common effort. The fact, too, that all important decisions are attained by direct majority vote in a general assembly of members, gives to each Brother an increased sense of his own individual significance and worth. The restriction on the size of a Colony keeps member relationships on an intimate basis, and the training received from earliest childhood results in the Hutterite youth fitting readily into community life. Added to all these, is the cardinal factor that agriculture is an industry that provides numerous types of work, thus permitting individual members to adjust themselves fairly easily within the economy.

Obvious disadvantages arise from communal living, most of them caused by the Hutterian adherence to outmoded religious beliefs and objectives. To non-Hutterian ways of thought, the first objection would be the almost complete lack of privacy for the individual. Within the Bruderhof there exists no such thing as personal privacy or independence; the life of every member is an open book to every other member. Practically every move a Hutterite makes, everything he does, is common knowledge to his Brethren. The isolation, the asceticism, and the general barrenness of life within the Hutterite community, all

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identified with Hutterian religious doctrine, lend little that is attractive to Bruderhof existence. Isolation was, no doubt, a virtue in the past, and it remains as one to which the Brethren continue to adhere. Asceticism, too, follows as a necessary corollary to Hutterian religious principles. In real or fancied emulation of the early Christian Church, the Hutterites pursue the simple life that permits few intellectual enjoyments. In consequence, they show no interest in the fine arts, nor in works of fiction, plays, orchestra, or drama. The movies are taboo; all musical instruments, even the radio, are prohibited. The Colony deliberately shuts itself off from the whole world of colour and beauty; not so much as a flower garden relieves the drab monotony of the scene. The Hutterian community teaches us efficient administration and frugality, but there the lesson ends.

Dr. Deets notes that the Hutterite order in America is threatened by certain undermining and disrupting influences; that gradually the group is being peacefully assimilated. (I) He believes that the chief contributory factors in this process are the advance of modern technol-

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(I) Deets, op. cit., p. 47.





ogy, especially in the field of agriculture, and the presence of the "outside" teachers in the schools. Other agents tending to the dissolution of the Colonies are at work. Among these is the decreasing amount of isolation, a situation noted with concern by the Hutterite leaders in the Manitoba Colonies near Winnipeg; there is today a relative absence of persecution, resulting in a relaxing of the vigilance of former years; and, finally, the lapse of the missionary zeal of the earlier period has been responsible for the failure to win new converts. All this is true. All the foregoing effects become causes operating to break up the Colonies. But it is doubtful if their combined effect is very great, or if the Hutterian movement is in any immediate danger of dying out. Some adherents may be lost, but in all probability there will remain a strong nucleus imbued with a sincere desire to maintain the ancient ways; a remnant to carry on the basic ideal of a well-ordered system in practical love and brotherhood. That, at least, has been the history of the Hutterites during more than four centuries of existence.

Dr. Clark summarizes the whole philosophy of the

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Hutterian faith in the closing paragraphs of her very fine and sympathetic study of the Brethren:-

"If one were to summarize briefly the whole philosophy of the Hutterian system, he should say: It is a case of the individual surrendering everything to the group, in return for which the group takes all responsibility for the welfare of the individual. Each man who joins pledges all his labour and all the results of it to the group, during such time as he may be well enough and strong enough to work. The group in return guarantees him that he shall never suffer from either unemployment or over-employment, that he shall be supplied with all the necessities of life, that in case of sickness and when he is old he will have the tenderest of care, and that in case of death his children will be looked after without the slightest discrimination between them and children whose parents are alive.

It is, in a way, a combination and extension of the ideas involved in the recent movements in favour of old-age pensions, and insurance against unemployment, as well as against sickness and death."  
(I)

In connection with the gradual assimilation of the Hutterites, the following news item is of interest:-

#### Hutterites Greet Santa

Rockyford. - Hutterite children at the Rosebud River Colony north of here staged a Christmas concert Tuesday - believed to be the first time ~~any~~ Hutterites in Canada have taken part in such a festival.

Even Santa Claus was there. Each Hutterite child took part in the Christmas celebration and one of the features was the singing of "Silent Night" alternately in English and German. Youthful Rachael Wurz ..... was chairman of the concert which was attended by Andrew Wurz ..... and by Munroe



Macleod, Superintendent of Schools for the Wheatland School Division; Santa gave each child a present, and the children gave their teacher, Mrs. Mabel Mappin, many presents. (I)

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(I) Calgary Herald, issue of Dec. 24, 1948.





THE HUTTERIAN CONTROVERSY IN WESTERN CANADA

The history of the Hutterian Brethren has been one of migration. Down through the years of their existence the Bruderhof communities have been forced to move; from Moravia they settled in Transylvania and Hungary, thence to Rumania and Russia, and finally to the United States and Canada. We have traced the revived movement in Germany in its flight to Liechtenstein, to England, and to distant Paraguay. In each case the exodus has been due to the same causes: dislike, ill-will, or outright persecution on the part of their neighbours. There can be little doubt that these factors have been caused, in turn, by the Hutterian custom of "living within the world, but not of it". The Hutterites themselves attribute the trials and difficulties, to which their movement has repeatedly been subjected, to war, and the passions and emotions aroused by war. It was war, or the threat of war, that drove them from Europe; it was when the United States entered World War I that their neighbours in South Dakota turned against the Brethren; it required World War II to awaken Western Canada to the threat to "our way of life" constituted by the Hutterite Colonies of Alberta and Manitoba. It is only

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when war clouds gather that the Hutterian doctrine of non-resistance, with its concomitant refusal to bear arms or render any form of military service, is brought forcibly, and unfavourably to the attention of a nation whose existence is under attack by hostile powers. The record of the Hutterites, both early and recent, illustrates all too well the truth of this statement, although, as an examination of the briefs presented against the Brethren in Alberta will reveal, other and different charges are also evoked.

As we have seen, (1) the trouble in America began in 1917, when the United States passed the National Service Act. In strict conformity with their religious principles, the Hutterites refused to enlist or be drafted, and, as a result, there were raids and riots in which they were taken from their homes and tarred and feathered on the charge of being German sympathizers. Hastily and unhappily the Hutterites set out for Manitoba and Alberta, areas selected because the distance involved in moving was not too great, and because the Brethren believed that the unconditional exemption from all types of military service granted them in 1899 would continue to hold good. (2) This

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(1) See page 23.

(2) See page 25.





matter of military exemption, as granted by the Canadian Government, is somewhat involved, and merits some attention here.

Canada was eager to welcome agricultural immigrants into the West in that period of expansion centering about the turn of the century. As early as 1872 both the British and the Canadian governments were engaged in a mutual effort to induce Russian Mennonites to come to Canada. In this connection, the following documents speak for themselves:-

Report of a Committee of the Honourable Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the 25th of September, 1872.

(Ref. 187,924 of 3129, No. 1)

The Committee of Council have had under consideration a despatch from the Right.Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated August 23rd ultimo; covering a letter from Mr. Zahrebs, Her Majesty's Consul at Berdiansk (in South Russia) dated July 26th last, and a letter from Mr. Cornelius Janzen, of Berdiansk, dated June last, to Your Excellency.

The Hon. the Minister of Agriculture, to whom the above despatch and enclosure were referred, reports that it is expedient to give the German Mennonites in Russia the fullest assurance of absolute immunity from military service if they settle in Canada.

That a sub-section of Section 17 of Act 31, Victoria, Chapter 40, is as follows:-

"Any person bearing a certificate from the Society



of Quakers, Mennonites or Tunkers, or any inhabitant of Canada of any religious denomination otherwise subject to military duty, but who, from the doctrines of his religion is averse to bearing arms and refuses military service, shall be exempt from such service when balloted in time of peace, or war, upon such conditions and under such regulations as the Governor in Council may, from time to time, determine.

That under this section all the persons above mentioned, and the Mennonites are expressly included, are absolutely free and exempted by the law of Canada from military duty or service, either in time of peace or war.

That the Governor General in Council cannot prescribe any conditions or regulations under which, under any circumstances, the persons referred to in the above quoted section can be compelled to render any military service.

That the intention of the Act in conferring upon the Governor General in Council the power of making conditions and regulations was to enable the Government to provide, if necessary, for the regulations of exempted persons in such manner as to prevent persons belonging to any other denominations than those specified in the section of the Act above quoted from avoiding military duty under false pretenses.

That the Constitution does not confer upon the Governor General in Council any power to over-ride or set aside, under any circumstances, the plain meaning of statute law, and he recommends that this explanation be conveyed to the Mennonites in Russia.

The Committee concur in the foregoing report, and advise that a copy of this Minute be transmitted by Your Excellency to the Earl of Kimberley.

(Signed) John J. McGee,  
Clerk, Privy Council. (I)





This report of the Committee marked the initial step in bringing the Mennonites, the religious kinsmen of the Hutterites, into Canada. The next year saw further developments. The Report of the Honourable J. H. Pope, Minister of Agriculture, for the calendar year 1873, reads, in part, as follows:-

To His Excellency, the Right Honourable Sir Frederick Temple, Earl of Dufferin, etc., etc..

May it please Your Excellency,

I have the honour to submit the Report of the Department of Agriculture for the calendar year 1873 ..... It may be remarked that four delegates from the German Mennonite Province of Berdiansk, in South Russia, visited this country during the summer of 1873, for the purpose of ascertaining its suitability as a field for Mennonite settlement, and the terms which they could obtain from the Government of the Dominion.

As this immigration of German Mennonites to Canada promises to become a question of importance, it may be well to give some particulars respecting the causes of the movement. . . .

The cause of the new projected exodus is again the question of military exemption, or rather the question of military service from which the Czar now refuses to exempt them. It is also coupled with a new ukase, requiring that their children should be instructed in the Russian language, and made to submit to regulations respecting tuition to which they cannot in conscience consent.

The first intimation made to the Canadian Government of the proposed emigration from Russia, was contained in a despatch (No. 51) dated the 7th of March, 1872, from the Right Hon. the Secretary of





State for the Colonies. The despatch has reference to letters from Mr. Zorabs (sic) Her Majesty's Consul at Berdiansk, and from leading Mennonites, enquiring whether, if these people emigrated to Canada, they would be allowed exemption from military service, and from the ordinary form of oath; asking moreover what advantages they might calculate upon in the way of land grants.

In pursuance of an Order in Council dated April 26th, 1872, favourable answers were returned to the enquiries of the Mennonites, and delegates from among themselves were invited to visit Canada, the Department of Agriculture undertaking to defray the expenses of such visit.

. . . .

The advantages accorded to the Mennonites were communicated to their delegates, and the Government thus became pledged to them. The obligations contracted towards these people, as enumerated in the letter to the Mennonite delegates, under date July 26th, 1873, are:-

1. Entire exemption from military service.
2. A free grant of land in Manitoba.
3. The privilege of religious schools of their own.
4. The privilege of affirming instead of making oaths in court.
5. Passenger warrants, from Hamburg to Fort Garry, for the sum of \$30.00 per adult, \$15.00 for children under eight years, and for children under one year, \$3.00
6. These prices not to be changed during the years 1874, 1875, and 1876, and if changed afterwards not to exceed \$40.00 up to the year 1882.
7. The emigrants to be provided with provisions during their journey between Liverpool and Collingwood.

. . . .

(I)



Mr. Pope's report is much too long to quote in full, but, from the foregoing passages it is apparent that the Mennonites received all the concessions that they had requested. Despite the sudden and unexpected opposition of the Russian Government, which put every possible difficulty in their way, the Mennonites began emigrating to Canada in 1874, and, following their arrival, they were not slow in advising their co-religionists, the Hutterites, of the favourable conditions to be secured from the Dominion Government. That these conditions were maintained is evident in the reading of the following official document, written three years later:-

Copy of a Report of a Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council, approved by His Honour the Deputy of His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the 27th August, 1877. Ref. 9243.

To the Hon. the Minister of the Interior,

On a Memorandum dated 8th August, 1877, from the Hon. the Minister of the Interior, reporting that certain Mennonite settlers in Manitoba, having fulfilled the conditions under which they homesteaded lands in the Province, have applied to have their respective grants confirmed to them, but not having taken the steps required by law to become naturalized, the applicants are not by the provisions of the Dominion Lands Act, eligible to receive patents of their lands.

. . . . .

That the Alien Law, 31 Victoria, Cap. 66, requires a person becoming naturalized to take the oath of





allegiance.

That the Agent of Dominion Lands reports that the Mennonites hesitate to take the oath of allegiance from the fear that the doing so will render them liable to military service, to which they are opposed, the same being contrary to the doctrines of their religion.

That as regards liability to perform military service, the Order-in-Council of the 25th September, 1872, gave the Mennonites in Russia the "fullest assurance of absolute immunity if they settled in Canada" and the Minister of Justice expresses the opinion that the taking of the oath of allegiance by the settlers of that class in Canada is not inconsistent therewith - in other words, that such act - which is necessary in order to enable them to receive patents, will not be construed as interfering with the immunity from military service secured to them as above, and the Minister of the Interior recommends that the Agent of Dominion Lands, through Mr. Hespeler, Immigration Agent, Manitoba, be authorized to inform the Mennonites accordingly.

. . . .

(Signed) W. A. Himsworth

C. P. C.

(I)

While the Mennonites were thus enjoying the fullest possible degree of religious freedom under Dominion laws, the Hutterites in South Dakota had never been successful in obtaining from the United States Government a definite assurance that they would not be required to render military service; President Grant had told them that it was very unlikely that there would be compulsory military training in the United States for many years to come, but



this was, after all, only a personal opinion. The situation in Canada seemed decidedly better, and the Hutterites determined to explore the possibilities there. As noted on page 25 of this thesis, a small band of the Hutterian Brethren settled at Dominion City, Manitoba, in 1899, and immediately commenced negotiations with the Canadian Government to secure for the Hutterite Church the same privilege of exemption from military duty as that afforded the Mennonites. In this connection the Dominion Records contain the following Report:-

A Report of the Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency on 12th August, 1899. Ref. 88,416 on 58,764 (Immigration) P. C. No. 1676.

To the Honourable the Minister of the Interior:

On a Report, dated 12th July, 1899, from the Minister of the Interior, stating that arrangements have now been completed with the representatives of the "Brethren of the Hutterische Society" in South Dakota, on behalf of those who have already settled in Canada and those who may agree to do so. It was represented to the delegates who visited this country last summer by the Commissioner of Immigration, that, if they decided to settle in Manitoba, or the North West Territories, the Government would no doubt be favourable to granting immunity from military service in accordance with their religious tenets.

The Minister further states that fifty-two have already settled at Dominion City, Manitoba, having





bought land to the value of about \$20,000.00, and if the assurance held out to the delegates in this connection are (sic) fulfilled, shall succeed before long in securing the balance of them, who are amongst the wealthiest farmers in Dakota.

The Minister is of the opinion, under the circumstances, and considering that the Brethren of the Hutterische Society would appear to be a most desirable class of settlers to locate upon vacant Dominion Lands in Manitoba and the North West Territories, that it is expedient to give them the fullest assurance of absolute immunity from military service, not only to those who have already settled but also to those who may settle in the future.

The Minister submits that Sub-Section 3 of Section 21 of the "Militia Act", Chapter 41 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, contains the following provision:

"Every person bearing a certificate from the Society of Quakers, Mennonites or Tunkers, (1) and every inhabitant of Canada of any religious denomination otherwise subject to military duty, who from the doctrines of his religion is averse to bearing arms and refuses personal military service, shall be exempt from such service when balloted in time of peace, or war, upon such conditions and under such regulations as the Governor in Council, from time to time, prescribes."

The Minister recommends therefore, that under the power vested in Your Excellency in Council by the above provision, the Brethren of the Hutterische Society settling permanently in Canada shall be exempted unconditionally from service in the Militia, upon the production of a certificate of membership in each case from the proper authorities of their community.

The Committee submit the foregoing for your Excellency's approval.

(Signed) John J. McGee  
Clerk of the Privy Council (2)

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(1) The Tunkers, also called Dunkers or Dunkards, were another religious sect advocating non-violence.

(2) Cited in Das Klein Geschichtsbuch, pp. 629-630.





His Excellency the Earl of Minto, Governor General of Canada, carried out the foregoing recommendation of the Committee with commendable promptness. Under the authority of Order-in-Council P. C. 1676, dated August 12th, 1899, the Hutterian Brethren received unconditional exemption from all service in the Canadian militia. This welcome intimation was conveyed to the Brethren by the Secretary of the Department of Interior in the following official letter:-

Hutterian Society  
Dominion City, Man.

Department of Interior  
Ottawa  
Aug. 18, 1899

Sir:

With respect to your letter of 28th June, No. 1938, re Hutterian Society, Jamesville, Yankton County, South Dakota, I beg to inform you that I have been authorized to communicate to you that an Order in Council of the 12th August passed by the Government of the Dominion of Canada has been issued wherewith the Brethren of the Hutterische Society which is permanently settled in Canada are granted unconditional and complete exemption from all military service with the producing in every case of a certificate of membership which has been issued by the elders authorized to do so. I ask you to impart this information to the correct parties.

(Signed) John R. Hall  
Secretary, Department of Interior. (I)

The entire matter of military exemption in Canada, and its subsequent withdrawal, is of so much concern to the Hutterites that, at the risk of becoming tedious, one



more document, relative to the year 1899, is cited here:-

Department of the Interior  
Ottawa, 27th October, 1899  
Ref. 10,465

To W. F. McCreary, Esq.  
Commissioner of Immigration  
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of the 12th instant, No. 21,759, enclosing a petition from certain members of the Hutterite community in which they ask that in coming to Canada they may be assured of certain privileges.

- (1) As to their request for exemption from military service, this question has already been dealt with, and I enclose you a copy of the Order in Council authorizing their exemption.
  - (2) These people will not be molested in any way in the practice of their religious services and principles, as full freedom of religious belief prevails throughout the country. They will also be allowed to establish independent schools for teaching their children, if they desire to do so, but they will have to be responsible for their maintenance themselves. The children will not be compelled to attend other schools if their education is properly provided for.
  - (3) The law does not compel the taking of an oath in court by persons who have conscientious objections to doing so, and there is no compulsion as to voting for or holding offices, but the privilege of doing so is generally most highly prized.
  - (4) The Dominion Lands Act makes provision for the locating of people as communities and for their being allowed to live in villages instead of being required each to live separately on his own land.
  - (5) There will be no interference with their living
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as a commonwealth, if they desire to do so.

(6) The privileges asked for in the last four sections cannot be more firmly established by any further official document than they are by the established laws of the country, and the members of the Society in question may rest assured that the statements made above are of as full value to them as they could be made by an Order of the Governor in Council or any document of that nature.

Yours truly,

(Signed) Jas. A. Smart  
Deputy Minister (I)

With this official statement the Hutterites rested content. No other Order-in-Council than that of August 12, 1899, was issued with respect to the Hutterian organization until April 8, 1919. The Hutterites, however, left Dominion City to return to South Dakota in 1899 and 1900, not because of any dissatisfaction with the laws of Canada but because of the unsuitability of their land for farming. (2)

When feeling in the United States turned against them in 1918, the Hutterites prepared to give Canada a second trial. Once again the Brethren entered into negotiations with the Dominion Government, rather hurriedly as they were under pressure to leave South Dakota. The

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(I) Cited in Das Klein Geschichtsbuch, pp. 631-632

(2) See page 25 of this thesis.



unconditional exemption from military service, and the other various privileges authorized by Order-in-Council No. 1676 of August 12, 1899, had been granted to the Brethren of the Hutterische Society "settling permanently in Canada," and it was this phrase of the Order requiring permanent settlement that worried the Hutterites. They felt that a strict interpretation of the Order of 1899 would render it inapplicable to Hutterian immigrants into Canada in 1918; consequently, they tried to secure another Order-in-Council which would, with no ambiguity, grant them all the rights enumerated in 1899. Acting, as usual, through agents, the Hutterites obtained, not another Order, but at least an official statement from the Dominion Government. This statement seemed to permit to the Society every privilege that the Brethren requested, but its wording caused some uneasiness still:-

Office of the Deputy Minister of the Interior  
Ottawa, 7th February, 1918

To Michael Scott, Esq.  
P. O. Box 1736  
Winnipeg, Man.

Dear Mr. Scott:

I beg to confirm my telegram to you of this date, which read as follows:

"Subject to production of certificate of membership from proper authorities of community and subject to convention between Governments of Canada

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and the United States with regard to military service, department would guarantee exemption from Canadian military service. Agreeable also to granting requests as to community life and holding of property in common, but matter is one of provincial control. Do not anticipate slightest difficulty in connection with either request made by you. Letter following."

I may explain that an understanding is being arrived at between the Government of Canada and that of the United States under which it will be possible to enforce the return to the United States of persons who under the laws of that country are subject to military service but who may have moved to Canada. In the same way, Canadians who have moved to the United States may be compelled to return to this country if they are subject to military service.

The other point mentioned in my telegram has reference to the question of community life. I may say that, insofar as this Department is concerned, there would be no objection to the proposed communities following their ordinary modes of life once they established themselves in the West, but this is really a matter of provincial control, as it relates entirely to municipal laws and administration, such as the levying of taxes, the maintenance of roads, etc. Under the circumstances, I have thought that you might possibly deem it advisable to discuss this matter with the provincial authorities as soon as you have an opportunity to do so.

Yours very truly,

(signed) W. W. Corey (I)

As will be readily appreciated, the reference in the above letter to a conference between the two national governments caused the Hutterites a good deal of concern.





Their agent, Mr. Scott, made every effort to clear up this matter:-

"Office of the Deputy Minister of the Interior  
Ottawa, April, 1918 (I)

To Michael Scott, Esq.  
P. O. Box 1736  
Winnipeg, Man.

Dear Mr. Scott:-

In Mr. Corey's absence I am in receipt of your lettergram of the 1st instant which reads as follows:-

"Hutterian delegates due here on seventh instant for extended trip through country. Requested me to obtain for them copy of synopsis of Convention between Canada and United States concerning Military Service and also extracts of Minutes referred to in your telegram to me of February seventh. Please mail."

In reply, I am sending you copies of the documents relating to the exemption of the Mennonites (sic) from Military Service and in this connection would emphasize that we can promise exemption from Military Service only in so far as the Canadian Army is concerned. We cannot exempt a man from service in the American Army provided he is eligible for service there.

We have no copy of the Convention or Treaty between Canada and the United States relative to Military Service.

Yours very truly

Acting Deputy Minister." (2)

Hutterian misgivings over the whole situation proved

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(I) Oddly enough, the day of the month is not given.

(2) Das Klein Geschichtsbuch, p. 633. Professor Zieglschmid notes, in perplexity, that the letter is unsigned.



only too well founded. Canada, in the spring of 1918, could look back upon almost four years of bitter war; public opinion hardened against the extending of special privileges to pacifist groups within the country. Hostilities ended on November 11, 1918, but various organizations such as the War Veterans' Association maintained pressure on the Government at Ottawa to effect legislation that would cancel all exemption from military service when the nation was at war. Efforts in this connection proved successful; on April 8, 1919, the Dominion Government finally settled the question by passing Order-in-Council P. C. No. 768 which revoked the provisions of the Order of 1899 with regard to all "members of the Brethren of the Hutterische Society who entered Canada as immigrants on and after the 10th day of April, 1919." Thus only those Brethren who had settled permanently in Canada prior to April 10, 1919, were entitled to unconditional exemption from war service. Hutterites entering, or born in, Canada since April 10, 1919, enjoy no legal preference with regard to war service other than that granted all bona fide conscientious objectors - that of accepting alternative service in the form of specific civilian work, which, during World War II, was under the direction of National Selective

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Service. That the attitude of the Government had drastically changed, in so far as welcoming the various religious sects into Canada is concerned, is made evident in the following official letter:-

"Department of Immigration and Colonization  
Ottawa, September 15, 1919

To Joseph Kleinsasser, Esq.  
Milltown, South Dakota

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your letter of the 6th inst. in reference to the removal of the remaining members of your community to Canada. I have noted carefully all you state respecting the separation of members of your faith, and can appreciate your feelings and wishes in this regard. However, I must advise you that after the most careful consideration of all the facts and circumstances, the government concluded that it would be inadvisable, owing to the general feeling prevailing throughout Canada, to continue to permit certain persons to enter Canada because their custom, mode of life, habits, etc., were such as to prevent them becoming readily assimilated. These persons included Coukhobors (sic) Mennonites, and Hutterites. We have had so much trouble in Canada in connection with school and other matters in the colonies and communities of these people that their neighbours and people generally insist that no more should be permitted to come.

If in the future this decision should be reversed, it will depend largely, if not entirely, upon the conduct and mode of life of those of your people now settled in Canada. Unless they are prepared to become Canadian citizens in the truest and best sense of the term, and . . . assume all the obligations of citizenship including military service, it is extremely doubtful if any government in Canada would

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be prepared to admit them.

. . . .

Yours very truly,

(Signed) J. A. Calder  
Minister of Immigration and Colonization" (I)

The "general feeling" prevailing against the Hutterites, referred to by Mr. Calder, gradually subsided, and for the next two decades the Brethren in Canada were left pretty much at peace. Governmental attitude relented to the extent that permission was granted a group of Hutterites from South Dakota to establish a Bruderhof at Hutterville, near Magrath, in 1932. The result was that, in the period between the two World Wars, the Hutterites prospered, increased in numbers, and founded new colonies in Manitoba and Alberta.

A "time of trouble" began once again for the Brethren shortly after the beginning of World War II. Resentment against the Hutterites, based on the familiar charges that the Colonies did not participate in the Canadian way of life and that they refused to aid in the war effort, flared up once more and led to demands for legislation that would restrict further Hutterian expansion. In both

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(I) Das Klein Geschichtsbuch, pp. 634-635.





Manitoba and Alberta charges were advanced that Hutterianism is a detriment to Canadian society on the following counts:-

- (1) Hutterian non-participation in the social order leads to disruption of community life in those areas where their Colonies have been established.
- (2) Hutterian purchases of land make it impossible for veterans to acquire farms. The Hutterites, with their low standard of living, can afford to pay prices much higher than the terms of the Veterans' Land Act will permit the returned men to offer. Thus the Hutterites can secure all the best land which Canadian boys risk their lives in war to defend.
- (3) The Hutterites do not observe provincial educational regulations, or, at best, observe them only in the letter of the law.
- (4) The rule within the Colony is authoritarian, and as such is not in accord with the principles of Canadian democracy.

In Alberta, the Hutterites found surprisingly few individuals or organizations willing to come to their defense. Mass meetings were held in Southern Alberta towns at which the Hutterites were roundly condemned, and the Government at Ottawa severely criticized for its lenient attitude toward non-participants in the war effort. The outcome of all this agitation was inevitable.

The first bill in Alberta directed against the Hutterites was introduced in the Provincial Legislature by the Honourable Solon Low on March 11, 1942, and speedily en-

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acted into law under the title of The Land Sales Prohibition Act. This Act forbade the sale of lands to Hutterites or enemy aliens. In his introduction of the bill to the Legislature, Mr. Low made some interesting statements:-

"The Alberta Government action in proposing legislation to prohibit the sale of land to any enemy aliens and Hutterites was to allay public feeling which has been aroused to the point of threatened violence in some instances. . . .

They are good people generally . . . . The Act is not a persecuting measure but one adopted to meet a situation which has developed since the war started. . . . the Hutterites who entered this country under a Dominion agreement must not be persecuted. This Bill is just a temporary expedient until an orderly arrangement can be worked out." (I)

The "working out" process continued. In 1943 the Land Sales Prohibition Act was amended to forbid the further leasing of land to Hutterites or to enemy aliens. The Hutterites, incidentally, seemed to resent their being linked with "enemy aliens" more than they did the fact that they could no longer buy or lease land in Alberta. However, in the same year of 1943, the Dominion Government found the Act ultra vires of the Province because it dealt with enemy aliens. Consequently, in 1944, the Alberta Legislature passed a new Act, still under the former

(I) Quoted in the Edmonton Journal, issue of March 17, 1942.



title of the Land Sales Prohibition Act, which forbade the sale or leasing of land to Hutterites only. In 1945 an Amendment was passed to make the Act effective until one year after the end of hostilities. In 1946 a further Amendment fixed May 1, 1947, as the definite date upon which the Land Sales Prohibition Act would cease to be in force.

Although the war ended in 1945, anti-Hutterite feeling continued strong in Alberta. In January, 1947, the Provincial Government passed an Order-in-Council, No. 53/47, creating a "Committee of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, for the purpose of making a study of the Hutterite problem and of making recommendations to the Legislative Assembly as to :

(a) The Hutterite Problem in the Province of Alberta.

(b) Whether the Land Sales Prohibition Act, being Chapter 15 of the Statutes of Alberta, 1944, and the Amendments thereto, should be continued in force, and if so, whether it should be modified or amended in any way." (I)

This Committee, as appointed, consisted of the following members of the Provincial Legislature:-

Mr. Ivan Casey, Chairman,	High River
Mr. L. C. Halmrast,	Lucky Strike
Mr. H. G. Hammell,	Carstairs
Mr. H. B. Macdonald,	Calgary
Mr. F. C. Colborne,	Calgary

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(I) Report of the Legislative Committee regarding the Land Sales Prohibition Act, 1944.  
 (2) Ibid.





Under Mr. Casey's direction, the Committee was organized in Calgary, and promptly proceeded to hold public hearings on the Hutterite question in Lethbridge, Calgary and Edmonton. The meetings attracted considerable attention and were attended by a large number of interested parties. There can be no doubt that the Committee took its work seriously; the members studied carefully the large number of briefs presented and accepted an invitation extended by the Lakeside Colony to visit that group and observe Hutterite life at first hand. Briefs were submitted to the Committee by the following individuals and organizations:-

- (1) "On Behalf of the Hutterian Brethren of Alberta."  
Presented by Mr. L. S. Turcotte, Barrister, Lethbridge.
  - (2) The Municipal District of Warner, No. 4  
Represented by Mr. Livingstone.
  - (3) The Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Office  
Represented by Mr. M. Mann.
  - (4) "The Hutterian Brethren, Calgary Area."  
Presented by Mr. S. R. Vallance.
  - (5) Citizens' Organization, Beiseker and Irricana District  
Represented by Mr. C. Bond.
  - (6) Municipal District of Serviceberry, No. 43  
Represented by Mr. F. Ewing.
  - (7) Southern Alberta Citizens' Committee - 34 organizations  
and municipalities of Southern Alberta  
Represented by Mr. J. Harper Prowse, Sr.
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- (8) The Alberta Farmers' Union  
Represented by Mr. Pharis.
- (9) Cardston Irrigation and Development Committee  
Represented by Mr. J. S. Smith.
- (10) Canadian Legion, Alberta Command  
Represented by Mr. D. E. Fraser.
- (11) Hutterian Fellowship of Raley  
Represented by Mr. W. Huckvale.
- (12) United Farmers of Alberta  
Represented by Mr. W. Ward.
- (13) Alberta Federation of Agriculture  
Represented by Mr. P. Baker
- (14) Lethbridge School Division, No. 7  
Represented by Mr. R. Glover.
- (15) Alberta Association of Municipal Districts  
Represented by Mr. D. Roberts
- (16) Alberta School Trustees' Association  
Represented by Mr. D. Clement.
- (17) Alberta Farmers' Union, Local No. 379  
Brief presented by Mr. W. Burbridge.
- (18) Granum Board of Trade  
Represented by Mr. G. Gustafson
- (19) Brief by a Teacher in a Hutterite Separate School  
Presented by Mrs. O'Nairn.
- (20) St. Mary's Farm Forum Group  
Represented by Mrs. Pharis.

All the above briefs are on file in the office of

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the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly, Edmonton, Alberta, and can be obtained there by anyone interested in reading them. For the purpose of this thesis, we shall examine in detail two only of the briefs submitted - the Turcotte Brief in defense of the Hutterites, and that of the Alberta Farmers' Union supporting the restriction by law of further Hutterite expansion.

The case against the Hutterites, as presented in the Brief of the Alberta Farmers' Union, was ably argued by Mr. L. E. Pharis of Magrath, Alberta, a Director of this farm organization. Mr. Pharis begins by quoting from Dr. Clark's article on The Hutterian Communities, a source frequently referred to in this thesis, to stress the alarming rate of Hutterian expansion. The Brief submits that, according to Dr. Clark, the Bon Homme Colony of South Dakota increased its holdings ten-fold in a period of forty-four years; that that rate of expansion has continued; and that "while Canadian boys were fighting and dying for the very existence of our Nation, the Brethren have been able to save sufficient profits to enable them to establish at least one colony for each one now in existence." (I) This hoarding of profits, the Brief continues, results in the fact that the Hutterites

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(I) Alberta Farmers' Union Brief, p. 1.





can outbid others, and particularly War Veterans, for all lands available and desired by them. "The Hutterites can pay more for land than any of our young men who expect to live by Canadian standards . . . thus making it impossible for the Veterans to become established on any land that they, the Hutterites, may desire." (1)

The argument that the Hutterites constitute a social and economic bloc, that they contribute little of social value to the community, is the next point advanced. The tendency of the Brethren to concentrate their Colonies in one area is deplored. "They own one sixth of the Warner Municipality and one tenth of Sugar City Municipality. If 'they cannot live without more land', why do they not go outside Alberta to obtain it?" (2) The Brief emphasizes this danger of concentration by the Hutterites within certain districts, and goes on to ask "What will become of our schools, hospitals, parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, rinks, churches - all the things which mark our modern civilization - if the Brethren be permitted to continue their expansion?" (3) Mr. Pharis concludes his argument with a strongly worded demand that, "in the name of the 30,000 members of the Alberta Farmers' Union," the Land Sales Prohibition Act be extended, and amended, if necess-

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(1) Alberta Farmers' Union Brief, p. 1.

(2) Ibid, p. 2.

(3) Ibid.



ary, to prevent the Hutterites from acquiring further holdings in Alberta.

In a Supplement to the Brief as above outlined, an addition which was later endorsed by a special committee of the United Farmers of Alberta and the Alberta Federation of Agriculture, the Alberta Farmers' Union denied that any attempt was being made by their organization to drive the Hutterites from Alberta; it was only the expansion of the Brethren in those districts "where they are now so strongly entrenched" to which the Union was opposed. (I) The Supplement admits the value of the interest-free loans made by the Hutterite Colonies to the Dominion Government during the war years, but suggests that that was, after all, only a small contribution from them in return for the safety of their own young men. It is further argued that dispersion of the Colonies will result in closer association with, and consequent gradual assimilation by, their Canadian neighbours. The members of the Farmers' Union deny the charge that their Brief shows discrimination against one small group of conscientious objectors; they stress the point that the other religious sects, such as the Mennonites, assume the duties of citizenship except that of bearing arms. These other groups will render

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(I) Alberta Farmers' Union Brief, Supplement.





at least non-combatant service in time of war, but, the Supplement continues, the Hutterites refuse even this form of military duty. In conclusion, the Alberta Farmers' Union charges the Hutterites themselves with unfairness in that the Brethren have deprived their children of all culture, beauty, and refinement. "Music, art, literature and organized sport are as far removed from them as if they lived in darkest Africa. Certainly, you must agree with us that any Society that must keep its members in ignorance to hold them in subjection . . . is not one to be encouraged and given special privileges so that they may continue to deny their posterity the right to live as free individuals and Canadian citizens." (I)

The most detailed and complete Brief in defense of the Hutterites was that of Mr. Turcotte, a barrister of Lethbridge, who had been engaged by the Colonies of Southern Alberta to present their case. Mr. Turcotte submitted his Brief before the Committee of the Legislature at the hearing held in the Court House, in Lethbridge, on February 10, 1947. Before the Committee had completed its investigations, Mr. Turcotte prepared and presented another, a "Final" Brief, in which he collected and summarized his arguments for leaving the Hutterites alone, to grow and



and expand as they wished. He supported both documents with a number of letters which depicted the Hutterites in a rather favourable light.

Mr. Turcotte's original Brief begins with a condensed history of the Hutterian movement and continues with a description of Hutterite life within a particular Colony, that of Hutterville, southeast of Magrath. Following this introduction, Mr. Turcotte attempts to anticipate the charges to be brought against the Brethren. He meets the claim that the Hutterites buy up land in the center of a prosperous district and thereby ruin the community life within that area by a plea to the Committee to examine the location of the different Colonies in Alberta; such examination, Mr. Turcotte argues, will show that the Hutterites do not settle near towns, but rather on the fringes of sparsely populated areas. He dismisses as absurd the statement that there is danger of the Hutterites over-running the province, and quotes statistics indicating that the Brethren possess only 275 square miles of land out of the 67,621 square miles of farm land in Alberta, and that of the 99,732 farms in the province the Hutterites occupy slightly more than 330 holdings of average size. The Brief stresses the point that the Hutter-

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ites entered Canada with the full consent of the Dominion Government, and that the Province has therefore no right to pass restrictive laws concerning them.

Mr. Turcotte next considers the vexatious question of Hutterian refusal to render war service. In this connection, he emphasizes that the Hutterites have obeyed the law fully in that, in lieu of war duty, the Brethren performed alternative service in the Labour Camps set up by the Dominion Government for conscientious objectors. He states, "About 250 Hutterites served in these camps. If Selective Service ruled that a man of military age was essential for farming operations within the Colony, the Colony paid \$15.00 a month to the Red Cross for this man's services," (I)

The Turcotte Brief proceeds to advance other arguments on behalf of the Brethren, which may be summarized as follows:-

- (1) The Hutterites are most scrupulous in obeying the laws of the country; no Hutterite is in jail.
- (2) Hutterites pay their taxes promptly. They look after their own aged and invalid members.
- (3) They accept no old age pensions from the senior governments. Only one Colony in Southern Alberta has

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(I) The Turcotte Brief, p. 7.





accepted Family Allowance. (I)

- (4) During the period of crop failures and depression that occurred from 1930 to 1938, no relief was given or paid in any manner to any Hutterite Colony.
  - (5) No Hutterite has ever been a public charge in our hospitals. There is none in any of our asylums or mental institutions.
  - (6) The question of the rights of a group of citizens should not be determined on the basis of public opinion as expressed by resolutions passed by other groups of citizens. Public opinion changes; it has changed with respect to the Hutterites, as the documents appended to this Brief will testify.
  - (7) The fact that the Veterans must pay high prices for land is not due to Hutterite competition for the land. The price of land generally has increased; it has increased just as much in the districts where there are no Hutterites.
  - (8) Despite anything that may be said to the contrary, the real purpose of the agitation against the Colonies is to drive the Hutterites from the Province. If the Sunnyside Colony, numbering 145 people, is taken as a fair example, we find they possess only eleven or twelve acres of cultivated land per person, and, if allowance is made for summer-fallow, it means only five or six acres per person. Unless this Colony can purchase more land it will have to leave the country.
  - (9) Every Hutterite born in Canada since 1918 is a citizen of Canada. But, as a matter of fact, citizenship has never been a pre-requisite to the buying of land in Canada. There are many substantial land owners in Alberta who are citizens of the United States.
  - (10) The right to buy land is fundamental in a democracy. To remove this right in the case of the Hutterites is an unjust discrimination against a small minority group in this Province.
  - (11) A point worth bearing in mind is, that if the Hutter-
- ~~-(1) Other colonies are now applying for Family Allowance.~~



ites are forced to leave, the average Colony on selling out will take \$300,000. from this country.

The Brief emphasizes especially point (6) in the foregoing summary. Letters and telegrams, written in 1934, the year in which the O. K. Colony was seeking permission to enter Alberta, are quoted in full in an Appendix to the Brief. The O. K. Colony was the last group to enter Canada, and these letters are expressions of opinion from responsible parties who were interested or concerned in the matter. The following items of correspondence, all favouring the Hutterites' entering Canada, were read by Mr. Turcotte to the Committee:

- (a) Letter from the Honourable George Hoadly, Acting Premier of Alberta; dated Jan. 23, 1934.
- (b) Telegrams from Premier Brownlee to Mr. B. F. Tanner, agent for the Hutterites, and to Hon. W. A. Gordon, Minister of Immigration, Ottawa; dated Feb. 21, 1934.
- (c) Telegram from Mr. J. Y. Card, President of the Cardston Board of Trade to the Right Honourable R. B. Bennett, Prime Minister of Canada. Dated March 2, 1934, the telegram reads, in part, ". . . the entry of the Rockport (O. K. ) Colony would be of great benefit to vendors, . . . and all other persons concerned in this district. Anything you may do to avoid further delay will be greatly appreciated." (1)
- (d) Letter from Mr. William Meeks, Mayor of Raymond, to Premier Brownlee; dated March 3, 1934.
- (e) Two telegrams from the Lethbridge Board of Trade, one to Brig. General Stewart, M. P. , Ottawa, and the other to Premier Brownlee; both dated March 14, 1934.





(f) Letter from Mr. Owen Williams, Inspector of Schools, to Premier Brownlee. This letter is quoted in full on pages 75 and 76 of this thesis.

Mr. Turcotte closes this appeal to the Committee by quoting Sections 7 and 8 of the Bill of Rights as proposed by the Alberta Legislature in 1946, (I) to show that any law aimed at restricting the Hutterites from buying land would, in his opinion, be in conflict with the Alberta Government's own principles as expressed in the Bill of Rights, as well as in direct contradiction of the basic doctrines of British and Canadian democracy.

In preparing his final Brief, Mr. Turcotte had def-

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(I) Section 7: "It is hereby declared that every citizen of Alberta shall be free to acquire land and enjoy the use of his home and property without interference or molestation, so long as he conforms to the laws in force in the Province for safeguarding the lives, property, welfare and personal rights of other citizens."

Section 8: "It is hereby declared that every citizen of Alberta shall be free to do or refuse to do any act or thing within the limitations of the laws in force in the Province, provided that thereby he does not infringe upon the same right of any other citizen."

The Bill of Rights, incidentally, was not enacted into law. It was found completely ultra vires of the Province of Alberta in the opinion of the Privy Council.



inite charges against the Hutterites, rather than anticipated ones, with which to deal. A study of this Final Submission brings both sides of the Hutterian controversy clearly into focus.

Dismissing as unproven "many small and petty statements," (I) Mr. Turcotte turns his attention at once to the four main arguments advanced in support of legislation to prevent the Hutterites from buying land. For the sake of brevity, these arguments, together with Mr. Turcotte's rebuttal in each case, may be summarized as follows:-

- (A) That the Hutterites pay high prices for land, and that, if permitted to buy again, they will outbid Veterans who may wish to buy.

In dealing with this first charge, Mr. Turcotte quotes prices paid per acre by eleven different Colonies in Southern Alberta. According to his figures, these range from \$8.00 to \$42.00 an acre, amounts which Mr. Turcotte argues can hardly be considered excessive.

- (B) That the Hutterites, in buying large tracts, buy out large numbers of individual families and create a social and economic vacuum in the midst of a community.

To offset this claim, the Brief submits the following record of lands purchased by ten different Colonies:

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- (I) The Turcotte Brief, Final Submission, p. 1.





- Lakeside Colony - Land previously sheep pasture.
- Rock Lake Colony - Land previously sheep pasture.
- Miama Colony - Land owned by Company in Ohio.
- Tenny Colony (I) - Land owned by three brothers.
- New York Colony - Land owned by a Mrs. Peck.
- Crystal Spring - Land owned by a Mr. Menderhall.
- Buck Ranch - Land owned by Knight Sugar Company, with one man on it.
- New Elm (
- Old Elm ) - All owned by McIntyre Ranching Com-
- Rockport ( ) - pany with no one living on it.

(C) That the Hutterites are poor neighbours.

To this statement Mr. Turcotte replies:-

"It is strange that not one neighbour living next to a Hutterite Colony made such a statement. The statement has been made by those whom I might call agitators who have been going around and getting resolutions passed by groups and organizations, the great majority of whose members have never seen a Hutterite in their lives and who know nothing at all of the problem; who have passed these resolutions without any sense of what we believe to be Canadian fair play . . . . Many neighbours of Hutterites have come forward and spoken very highly of the Hutterites as neighbours." (2)

(D) That the education given to Hutterite children is something to be deplored.

In rebuttal to this last main complaint, Mr. Turcotte not only answers with Mr. Williams' letter (3) but produces depositions signed by thirteen teachers in charge of Hutterite private schools. All thirteen are in

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(I) i. e. the Elm Spring Colony.

(2) The Turcotte Brief, Final Submission, p. 3.

(3) See pages 75 and 76.





agreement that the Hutterite children are well-behaved, possess better than average ability, and are receiving a good public school education. The Brief goes on to ask:-

"Are you going to deprive Hutterites of the right to buy land because their children do not complete High School? If you do then you should also prevent from buying land . . . the fathers of nine out of every ten children in Alberta who do not obtain a High School Certificate." (1)

Mr. Turcotte meets charges other than these four chiefly from the point of view that he considers them to be discriminatory in nature. He readily admits that the Hutterites are conscientious objectors, but demands to know why the Hutterites alone are being singled out in this connection, and informs the Committee that there are in Canada "more than 100,000 Mennonites, more than 18,000 Adventists, and over 16,000 Doukhobors" (2) who constitute pacifist groups. He declares as untrue the statement that the Hutterites accept all the benefits of Canadian citizenship and render little or nothing in return, and reminds his hearers that, "They do not accept the Old Age Pensions, Family Allowances, (sic) Mothers' Allowances, Agricultural or other Relief, free hospitalization, the

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(1) Ibid, p. 4.

(2) Ibid. Mr. Turcotte uses the 1941 Census for these figures.



use of our asylums or gaols. On the other hand, they always pay their taxes and bills." (1) To the repeated accusation that the Hutterites contribute nothing to our cultural life, Mr. Turcotte rather sarcastically asks if it is the intention to prevent all citizens who do not contribute to the cultural life from buying land. As for the admitted fact that the Brethren do not assimilate, the Brief has this to say:-

"If you are going to stop the Hutterites from buying land because they do not assimilate, then, if you want to stand in with your conscience for the rest of your days, you will have to prevent other groups who do not assimilate from buying land."  
(2)

Mr. Turcotte then mentions the Chinese and Japanese as examples of groups which do not assimilate. His Brief ends on a strong plea for the maintenance of justice and the upholding of minority rights.

It is pertinent to note at this point that no strongly organized group came forward to the defense of the Hutterites in Alberta, as there was in the case of Manitoba; and secondly, that the basic charge against the Brethren, that the Hutterian communal system through its concentration of Colonies was threatening the economic and social order within a number of Alberta areas,

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(1) Turcotte Brief, Final Submission, p. 5.

(2) Ibid, p. 6.





does not appear to have been met. No doubt it was this last mentioned feature of the inquiry that led the Committee to bring in a Report recommending that the Government replace the Land Sales Prohibition Act by legislation which would allow the Hutterites to purchase land, but only outside those districts where Colonies were already located.

The Alberta Legislature implemented the Committee's recommendations by passing the Communal Property Act of 1947. Copies of the Report and of the Communal Property Act will be found in the Appendix to this thesis. It will suffice to note here that under the new Act of 1947, no Hutterite Colony may purchase land within forty miles of an existing Colony, nor may any block of land be bought in excess of 6,400 acres of which at least one half must be uncultivated. No existing Colony may increase its holdings beyond the acreage leased and owned on March 1, 1944. Furthermore, any land now purchased under the Communal Property Act must first have been offered for sale to Veterans for a period of sixty days.

The foregoing legislation, when before the Assembly in the form of Bill No. 89, provided material for sharp debate. The definition of the word "colony" proved to be

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troublesome. As originally written into the Bill, it was defined as follows:-

"The word 'Colony' means a number of persons who hold land or any interest therein whether as owners, lessees or otherwise, and whether in the name of trustees or as a corporation or otherwise as communal property, and includes a number of persons who propose to acquire land to be held in such a manner."

When it was pointed out in the debate that this definition would also apply to certain monastic Orders, such as the Franciscan Fathers, the Jesuits and the Oblate Fathers, the Bill was amended at the suggestion of Attorney General Maynard by adding the words:

". . . and includes Hutterites,,or Hutterian Brethren and Doukhobors, but shall not include any church or other religious organization or congregation."

The above amendment certainly made the Bill specific enough but it laid the legislation open to the charge of being discriminatory, since the Hutterites are, above all, a religious sect. (I) The Edmonton Journal commented editorially at the time that "directing a law against a specific group was a weakness," and urged that "it might

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(I) In all fairness it should be noted that the Catholic Orders are celibate, and are not conscientious objectors. In France, and in other countries where the law so requires, they perform military service.





well be directed at all communal colonies and all who refuse to recognize the responsibilities of Canadian citizenship." (1) The Bulletin of the Manitoba Liberties Association commented bitterly on the "pseudo impartiality" of the original wording, declaring that it had been "quickly rectified by the addition." (2)

Other points arose in the course of the debate. Mr. G. E. Taylor (Social Credit, Drumheller) moved, and Mr. J. Harper Prowse seconded, that the limit of forty miles be amended to seven hundred and fifty miles! On the other hand, Mr. A. E. Fee (Social Credit, Sedgewick) moved an amendment to reduce the forty mile limit to thirty. Both motions were lost, and the Bill passed, as amended by Mr. Maynard. The Communal Property Act came into force on May 1, 1947, the date of expiry of the Land Sales Prohibition Act. Thus ended the controversy in Alberta, for the time being at least.

In Manitoba, opposition to the Hutterites came to a head in 1946, when three bills to incorporate new Hutterite Colonies were rejected by the Private Bills Comm-

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(1) Edmonton Journal, issue of April 1, 1947.

(2) Bulletin of the Manitoba Civil Liberties Association, Winter Issue, 1947 - 1948.





ittee of the Manitoba Legislature. Throughout 1947 groups of farmers and business men, from the districts where Hutterite Colonies predominated, kept up an insistent demand for legislation that would prevent the Brethren from expanding further. As a result of several protest meetings held in Oakville and St. Eustache, the Manitoba Government set up a **Legislative Committee**, in April, 1947, to investigate the Hutterian problem. As in Alberta, the Committee held public hearings, deliberated over the evidence submitted, and finally presented its Report to the Manitoba Legislature. This Report clearly reflects the fact that the response from individuals and organizations in Manitoba opposing legislation deemed to be discriminatory was much stronger than any similar reaction in Alberta. Among others, the Manitoba Civil Liberties Association presented a Brief in Hutterian defense; the Manitoba Conference of the United Church submitted a strong plea for maintaining minority rights; the Winnipeg Free Press joined forces, editorially, with several religious papers in opposing discrimination in any form; individuals possessing both prestige and influence, such as Dr. E. M. Howse of Westminster United

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Church and Dr. Marcus Bach of the State University of Iowa, argued to good effect for tolerance, on the ground of experience elsewhere in the world. Nor were the Hutterites of Manitoba backward in their own defense: On one occasion, when evidence had been presented, and accepted, that the Hutterites were good citizens in that they paid their taxes and debts, obeyed the law and kept out of our jails and asylums, the Elder, John Maendel, materially strengthened the Hutterian cause by asking the Committee, ". . . if you all admit that the fruit is good, why proclaim that the tree is bad?" (I)

The Manitoba Committee made three recommendations in its Report:- (a) That there be no interference with the Hutterites in their right to buy land. (b) That the authorities should see to it that the standard of education in the Hutterite private schools be maintained at a level comparable with that of the public schools of the Province. (c) That the Attorney General's Department should investigate the clause in the Hutterian Articles of Incorporation which prevented a member who wished to leave a Colony from taking anything with him. The Committee felt that an element of unfairness existed in this clause, although it was quite aware that it constituted





a basic doctrine of Hutterian faith.

The Manitoba Government accepted the Report of its Committee, with the result that, up to the time of this writing, no restrictive legislation with respect to the Hutterites has been passed in that province.

Thus, at the moment, the situation regarding the Hutterites versus Society-in-General in Western Canada would appear to be this: Because of their non-participation in community life, their non-assimilation, their refusal to vote or to hold public office, plus the fact that their continued expansion constitutes a threat both to our social life and to the securing of good lands by our returned men, the Hutterites have been restricted in the buying of land by Provincial Statute in Alberta, but their Colonies continue to exist, though somewhat uneasily, in Manitoba. In both provinces the root of the controversy exists, not in Hutterian numbers nor in their land holdings, for these were clearly proved to be relatively small; it is to be found in the tendency of the Brethren to concentrate their Colonies in such a manner as to stifle the Canadian way of life within an entire area. The Communal Property Act does prevent Hutterian concen-

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tration in Alberta, and from this viewpoint it deserves commendation. Many Hutterites have themselves come to regard this feature of the Alberta Act with some favour; they object not so much to the legislation itself, as to their being singled out by it. It is worth noting that, since the passing of the Communal Property Act, the Hutterites have founded three additional Colonies in Alberta, and a fourth, the Holt Colony, is now in the process of becoming established.



GROWTH AND EXPANSION

Whatever one may think of the Hutterian way of life, one must admit that the Brethren have progressed in recent years, both in Western Canada and the United States, from the viewpoint of increased membership and improved economical conditions. As they have made little effort to proselytize in North America, growth in Hutterian membership must be ascribed almost entirely to natural increase. The following tables of statistics are based upon the latest data obtainable and may be accepted as being fairly reliable. Because of the relatively high Hutterian birth rate, the information supplied in these tables will soon be out-dated and obsolete; if found useful for purposes of comparison, they will have served their main function here. The population figures for the Colonies outside Alberta have been derived for the most part from Das Klein Geschichtsbuch, although I have had the privilege of discussing these matters with several Hutterite visitors from Montana, South Dakota and Manitoba. I am indebted to the Department of Municipal Affairs, Government of Alberta, for the Alberta statistics. The tables follow:-

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Hutterian Colonies in Alberta, January, 1949

<u>No.</u>	<u>Colony</u>	<u>Parent Colony</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>Est.</u>
1.	C. C.	Raley	D	1936
2.	Crystal Spring	New Elm	L	1938
3.	*East Cardston	Warren Range, Montana	D	1918
4.	Elm Spring (Tenny)	Old Elm, S. Dakota	L	1932
5.	Ewelme (Murphy)	East Cardston	D	1927
6.	Felger	Stahlville	D	1927
7.	Ferrybank	New Springvale	D	1948
8.	Granum	Standoff	D	1930
9.	Huttermville	Rockport, S. Dakota	L	1932
10.	Lakeside	Wolf Creek	D	1935
11.	McMillan	Big Bend	L	1937
12.	Miama	Milford (Buck Ranch)	L	1925
13.	*Milford (Buck Ranch)	Milford, S. Dakota	L	1918
14.	Monarch	Big Bend	L	1938
15.	*New Elm	New Elm, S. Dakota	L	1918
16.	New Rockport	Rockport	L	1932
17.	New Springvale	Springvale	D	1936
18.	New York	Raley	D	1924
19.	O. K.	Rockport, S. Dakota	L	1932
20.	*Old Elm	Old Elm Spring, S. Dakota	L	1918
21.	Pincher Creek	New York	D	1930
22.	Pinehill	Lakeside	D	1935
23.	*Raley	Beadle County, S. Dakota	D	1918
24.	Riverside	Standoff	D	1939
25.	Rock Lake	Old Elm	L	1935
26.	*Rockport	Rockport, S. Dakota	L	1918
27.	*Rosebud (Beiseker)	Kutter, S. Dakota	D	1918
28.	Rosebud (Redland)	Rosebud, Beiseker	D	1920
29.	Rosebud (Huser)	Rosebud, Redland	D	1944
30.	*Springvale	Jamesville, S. Dakota	D	1918
31.	*Stahlville	Lewistown, Montana	D	1918
32.	*Standoff	Spink County, S. Dakota	D	1918
33.	Sunnyside	Elm Spring (Tenny)	L	1932
34.	Thompson	East Cardston	D	1944
35.	West Raley	Raley	D	1928
36.	Willow Creek	Stahlville	D	1944
37.	*Wilson	Richards, S. Dakota	D	1918
38.	Wolf Creek	Wolf Creek, S. Dakota	D	1930
39.	*Big Bend (Woolford)	New Elm, S. Dakota	L	1918
40.	Camrose	(Old) Springvale	D	1948
41.	Queenstown	Rock Lake	L	1948
42.	Holt	Granum	D	1949

(\*) Marks the names of the original twelve colonies in Alberta. The Big Bend Colony did not get fully established at Woolford until 1920.



Established Hutterite Colonies in Alberta

<u>No.</u>	<u>Colony</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Pop- ulation</u>
1.	C. C.	Cayley	4,480	92
2.	Crystal Springs	Magrath	5,656	120
3.	East Cardston	Cardston	2,658	76
4.	Elm Spring	Warner	7,006	160
5.	Ewelme (Murphy)	Glenwood	5,950	60
6.	Felger	Lethbridge	6,596	40
7.	Ferrybank	Ponoka	3,768	50
8.	Granum	Granum	6,721	140
9.	Hutterville	Magrath	6,080	150
10.	Lakeside	Cranford	7,742	160
11.	McMillan	Cayley	6,960	155
12.	Miami	New Dayton	9,728	210
13.	Milford	Raymond	8,659	133
14.	Monarch	Monarch	5,280	25
15.	New Elm	Magrath	5,526	200
16.	New Rockport	New Dayton	7,169	205
17.	New Springvale	Beiseker	6,309	181
18.	New York	Maybutt	4,313	105
19.	O. K.	Raymond	6,078	165
20.	Old Elm	Magrath	5,914	144
21.	Pincher	Pincher Creek	5,270	68
22.	Pinehill	Red Deer	3,394	40
23.	Raley	Raley	6,636	100
24.	Riverside	Glenwood	6,002	80
25.	Rock Lake	Wrentham	8,452	150
26.	Rockport	Magrath	6,716	190
27.	Rosebud (Beiseker)	Beiseker	4,800	80
28.	Rosebud (Huser)	Crossfield	4,640	80
29.	Rosebud	Rosebud	10,563	165
30.	Springvale	Rockyford	7,703	155
31.	Stahlville	Rockyford	8,238	170
32.	Standoff	Macleod	5,777	95
33.	Sunnyside	Warner	8,000	155
34.	Thompson	Glenwood	2,148	64
35.	West Raley	Cardston	5,469	20
36.	Willow Creek	Red Willow	7,594	25
37.	Wilson (Richards)	Wilson Siding	5,426	135
38.	Wolf Creek	Stirling	7,200	140
39.	Woolford (Big Bend)	Woolford	5,515	135
40.	Camrose	Camrose	1,760	.....
41.	Queenstown	Queenstown	5,903	.....
42.	Holt	Irma	6,400	.....
			Total -	4,618





The Geschichtsbuch gives the total membership of the Hutterian Church, in 1947, as 7,593. Of this total, there were 450 in Paraguay and 120 in England. (I) If allowance is made for natural increase, we may estimate the total number of the Brethren today as being close to 8,000. Of these, the total on page 141 would place some 4,600 in Alberta. There are approximately 2,000 Hutterites in Manitoba which would leave about 800 in South Dakota and Montana.

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(I) Das Klein Geschichtsbuch, pp. 685-686.



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-



The Twelve Articles of Faith Held in the Hutterian Church

1. I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of Heaven and Earth.
2. And in Jesus Christ, His only born Son of God.
3. Who was conceived of the Holy Spirit, born from the Virgin or Maid Mary.
4. Suffered under Pontius Pilate, Crucified, dead and buried. Stepped off to Hell.
5. Arose the third day from Death.
6. Ascended to Heaven, is seated to the right Hand of the Almighty Father.
7. From thence He will come to judge the lives and deaths.
8. I believe in the Holy Spirit.
9. I believe in a Universal Christian Church, the social life of the Holy Spirit.
10. Forgiveness of sins.
11. Resurrection of the flesh.
12. And Eternal Life.

Amen. (I)

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(I) Taken from a copy possessed by the Granum Colony.





## DOCTRINES OF HUTTERIAN FAITH

to be read

BEFORE BAPTISM

## THE HUTTERIAN BRETHREN

Jacob Hutter

Burned at the stake in Innsbruck, February 24, 1536.

- (1) The Church of Christ is the community of the believers and the pious, the people of God, who do and have abstained from sinful life. Into this community we are brought into true submission:  
That is the spiritual ark of Noah, in which we can be preserved.
- (2) It is not a human deed, but an act of God. Just as Mary through faith and the Holy Spirit conceived the Christ when she placed her will in God's and said: Here am I, a servant of the Lord; be unto me according to thy word. Thus we must also receive Christ in faith; then He will begin and complete His work in us.
- (3) The Church has the key and power to loose and bind even as Christ has commanded to put away the vicious and to receive the contrite, that it should also be binding in Heaven according to the words of Christ.
- (4) That each should count the cost first that will come, but one is not to counsel with flesh and blood. For they that enter in the service of God must be prepared for tribulation for the sake of truth, and the faith, and to die for Christ's sake, if it be the will of God, be it by fire, water, or the sword. For now we have houses and shelter, but we know not what will be on the morrow. Therefore no one should join for the sake of the prosperous days. He who will not be steadfast with all the Godly, to suffer the evil as well as the good, and accept all as good however the Lord may direct, let him remain away. Whoever does not act voluntarily will not be forced. We desire to persuade no man with smooth words. It is not a matter of human compulsion or necessity, for God wants voluntary service. Whoever cannot render that cheerfully and with hearty pleasure, let him remain in his former station.



- (5) Let no one undertake to join the Church for the sake of another; the wife for the sake of the husband or the husband for the wife, or the children for the sake of their parents; that would be vain, and building upon sand, having no permanency; but one who should build upon the rock tries to please God alone. For each must bear his own burden upon that day.
  - (6) One must submit to and follow brotherly admonition, address and punishment; also practice and apply the same with respect to others in the House of God, so that no one may fall into strange sins.
  - (7) One should submit himself in obedience to God and His Church, and not be obstinate, or do only his own desire, but permit himself to be guided for the good and necessity of the Church withersoever it be known to be right.
  - (8) That no one shall have any private possessions any more; for one who gives and surrenders himself to the Lord and His Church with all that he has and is able to do, is as it was in the original apostolic Church when no one said of his possessions that they were his, but all things were common to all. This we regard as the safest way and the most perfect foundation; of this we are also assured in our hearts.
  - (9) This we now plainly state to everyone beforehand, so that we may be under no obligations to return anything to anyone afterwards. Therefore if anyone should undertake to join us and later feel it impossible to remain and wish to have his returned, let him now stay away, keep his own and leave us in peace. We are not anxious for money and possessions but desire Godly hearts.
  - (10) Whoever has wrong dealings that are punishable in the world, be it that he is owing men or that he has defrauded them; or if anyone has involved himself in matters of marriage or is engaged to be married, he should first straighten these matters out. For if
-







anyone should conceal any of these things from us and should in the meantime have himself baptized, and we should learn of these matters afterwards, such a one we should be compelled to excommunicate as one who came into the Church improperly and by falsehood. Therefore let each one be truly warned.

Amen.

The Hutterian Brethren

A. D. 1906. (I)

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(I) The foregoing Doctrines were obtained from a copy supplied me by the Granum Colony; the wording and style of that copy has been followed without any attempt at change or correction.



Ordination of Eberhard Arnold in the Hutterian Church

20th March, 1931

The Hutterian Brethren  
Stand Off Colony, Macleod, Alberta

Give the following notice to the Bruderhof communities  
of the Hutterian Church:

1. On the 9th Dec. 1930, Eberhard Arnold of the Bruderhof in Germany was received into the body of the Church of God of the Brothers known as the Hutterians, at the Stand Off Bruderhof by Elias Walter, Christian Waldner, Johannes Kleinsasser, and Johannes Entz, in the presence of the Stand Off community and Joseph Wipf and Jerg Waldner. The teaching, Matthew XXVIII, was read.
2. On 19th Dec. 1930, Eberhard Arnold was confirmed for the ministry of the Word of God with the laying on of hands by the elders, Christian Waldner, Elias Walter, Johannes Kleinsasser, and Johannes Entz. This took place at the Stand Off Bruderhof, where Johannes Kleinsasser of Buck Ranch Bruderhof read the teaching, Titus I.

Herewith Eberhard Arnold was given the charge of the Church for Germany: to preach the Word of God there, to gather the zealous and to establish in the best order the existing Bruderhof near NeuhoF (Fulda) in Hessen-Nassau.

(Signed) Elias Walter (I)

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(I) Dr. Arnold received the original of the above document, but a copy was retained by the Colony at Standoff from which the foregoing statement has been derived. The "Bruderhof near NeuhoF (Fulda)" is the Rhoen Hills Bruderhof referred to in the thesis, pages 29 and 30.



HUTTERIAN FAMILY NAMES

- |                |                     |
|----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Dekker      | 9. Mandel (Maendel) |
| 2. Entz        | 10. Stahl           |
| 3. Glanzer     | 11. Tschetter       |
| 4. Gross       | 12. Waldner         |
| 5. Hofer       | 13. Walter          |
| 6. Janzen      | 14. Wipf            |
| 7. Kleinsasser | 15. Wollman         |
| 8. Knels       | 16. Wurz            |
-





# The Bon Homme or Smith Group Colonies

150

## Bon Homme, S. Dak., 1874

Tripp Neuhof  
(Neuhof) S.D.  
1878-1883

Fidiote, Pa.  
1884-85

Milltown, S.D.  
1886-1922

Barrickman,  
Man, 1920

New Elm  
Spring, S.D.  
1935

Teulon, Man.  
1934-1936 Tschetter, S.D.  
1941

Rosedale, S.D.  
1901-1918

Rosedale, Man.  
1918

Buffalo, S.D.  
1907-1912

James Valley, S.D.  
1913-1918

Iberville, Man  
1922

Riverside, Man.  
1933

Elm River  
Man, 1935

New Rosedale,  
Man.  
1944

James Valley, Man.  
1918

Riverdale, Man.  
1945

Blumengart, Man.  
1922

Sturgeon Creek, Man.  
1940

Sunnyside, Man.  
1942

Huron, S.P.  
1906-1918 Bon Homme, Man  
1918

Huron, Man.  
1918-1937 Waldheim, Man.  
1934 Rockport, S.D.  
1934

Jamesville, S.D.  
1937 Rosedale, S.D.  
1945

Lake Byron, S.D.  
1944

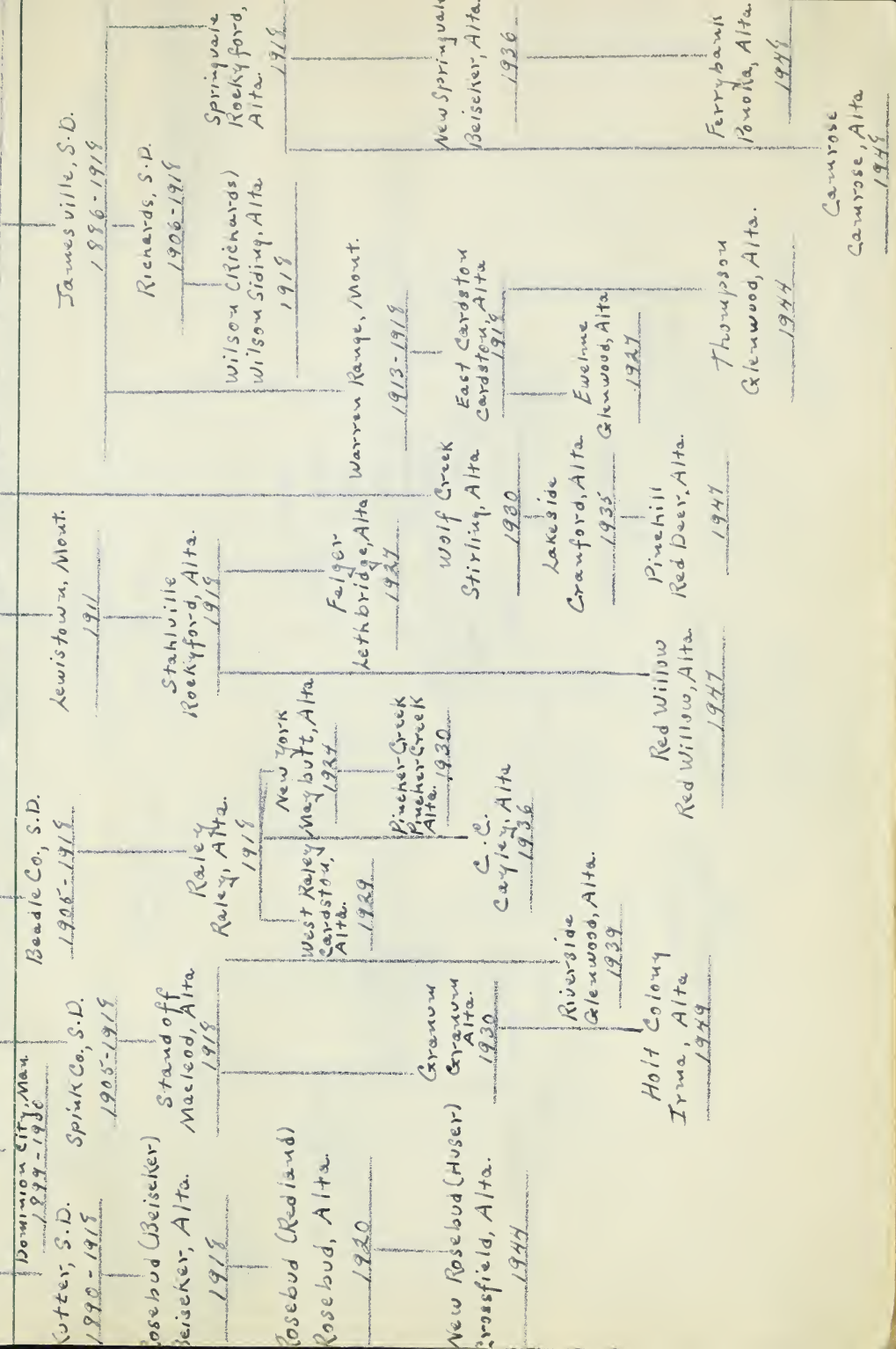
Milltown, Man  
1918

Spinks,  
S.D.  
1944



# The Wolf Creek or Darius Group of Colonies

Silver Lake, S.D. (1874-76) - Wolf Creek, S.D. (1874-1930)







# The Elm Spring or "Teacher" Group Colonies

152

## Old Elm Spring, Alexandria, South Dakota, 1877

Rockport  
Alexandria, S.D.

New Elm  
Parkston, S.D.

Milford  
Huron, S.D.

Hutterville  
Magrath, Alta  
1932

Rockport  
Magrath, Alta  
1918

Old Elm  
Magrath, Alta  
1918

New Elm  
Magrath, Alta  
1918

Milford (Buck Ranch)  
Raymond, Alta  
1914

O.K.  
Raymond, Alta  
1932

New Rockport  
New Dayton, Alta  
1932

Big Bend  
Woolford, Alta  
1915-1920

Monarch  
Monarch  
Alta, 1939

Crystal Spring  
Magrath, Alta  
1929

Tenny  
Elm Spring  
Warner, Alta  
1932

Old Rockport  
Lewis town, Mont.  
1948

Rock Lake  
Wrentham, Alta  
1936

McMillan  
Cayley, Alta  
1939

Sunnyside  
Warner, Alta  
1936

New Rockport  
Lewis town, Mont.  
1948

New Elm  
Conrad, Mont.  
1947

Queenstown, Alta  
1948

Miama  
Augusta, Mont.  
1947

Buck Ranch  
Augusta, Mont.  
1948

Miama  
New Dayton, Alta.  
1926

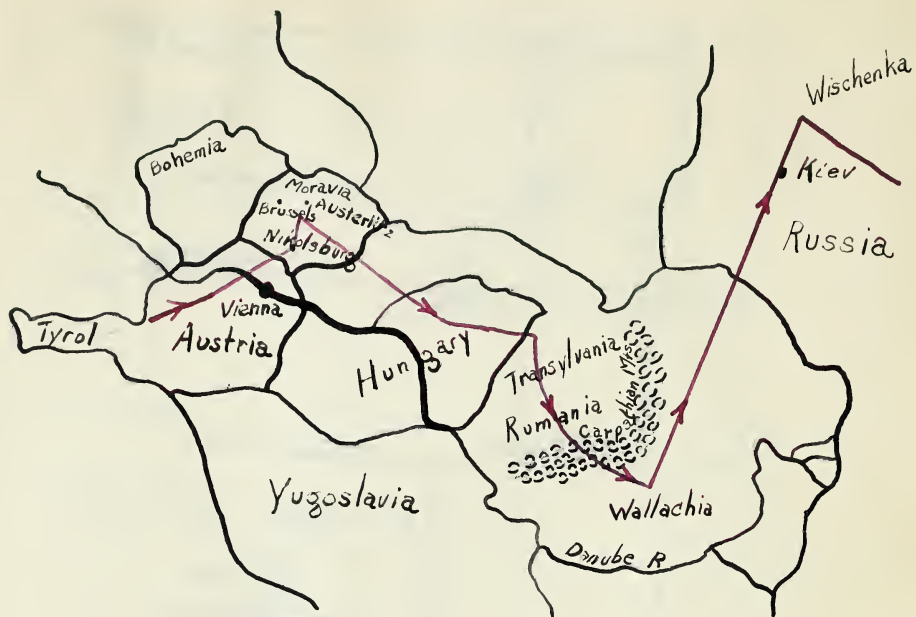




Partial map of Moravia and adjacent areas. (I)

(I) Horsch, The Hutterian Brethren, p. 160.

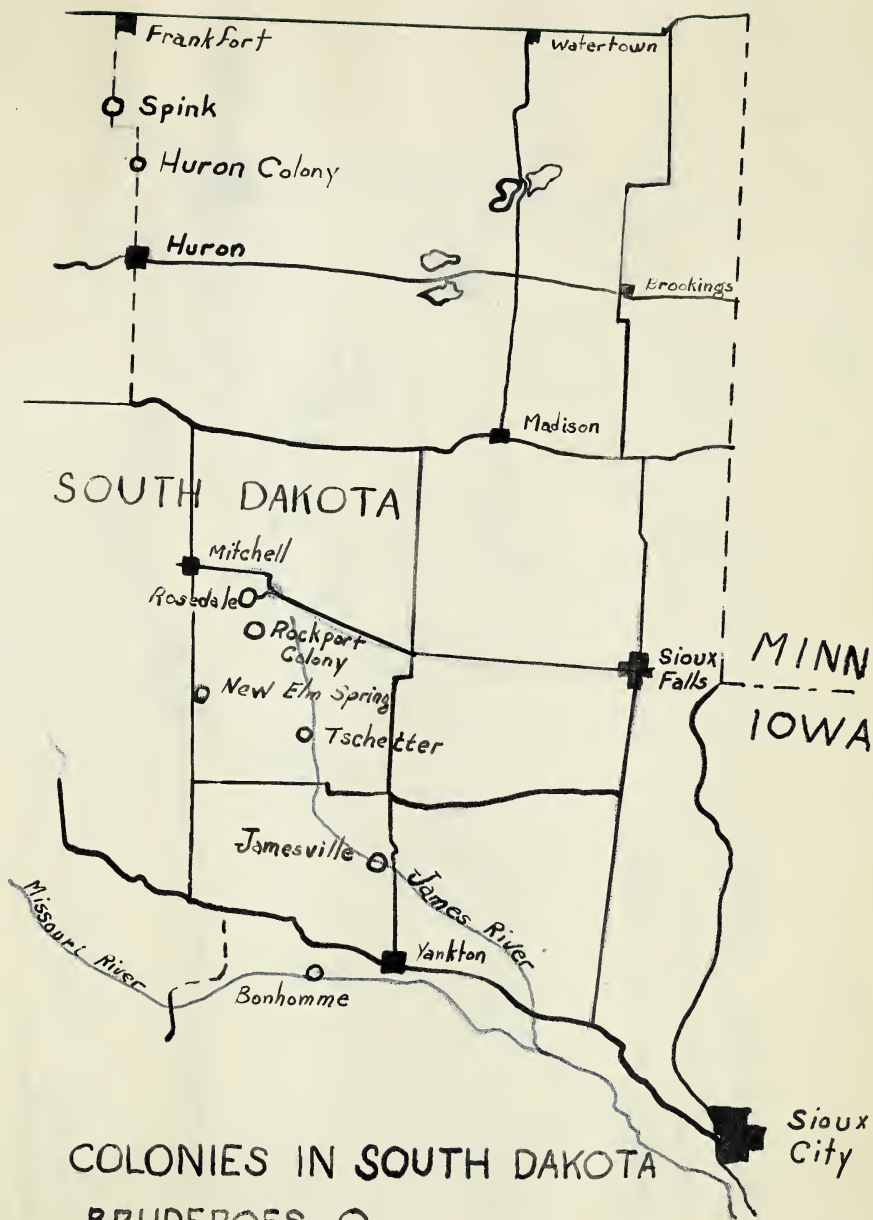




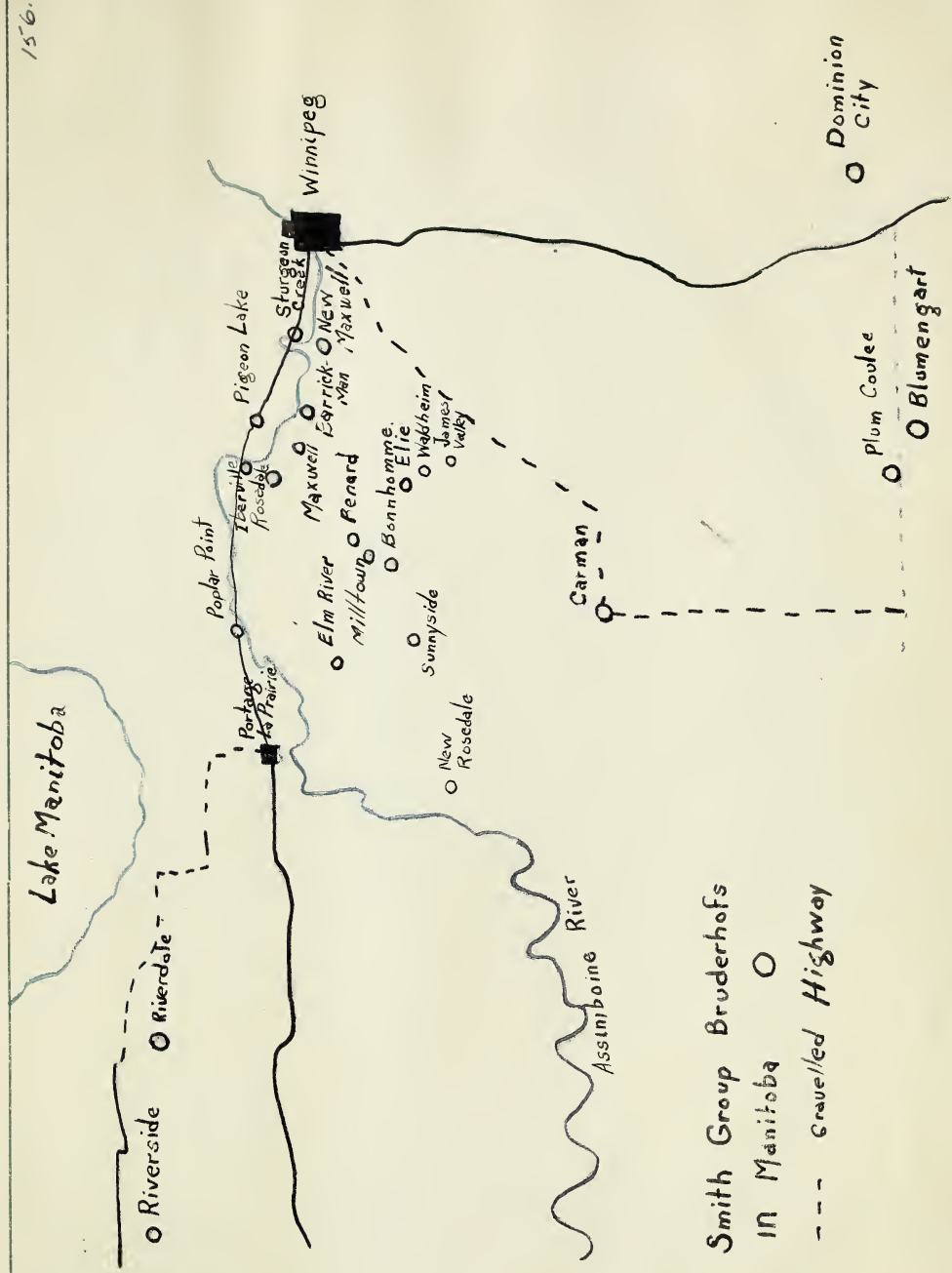
Hutterian Migrations in Europe.











Smith Group Bruderhofs  
 IN Manitoba  
 --- Gravelled Highway

Manitoba  
 Dominion City

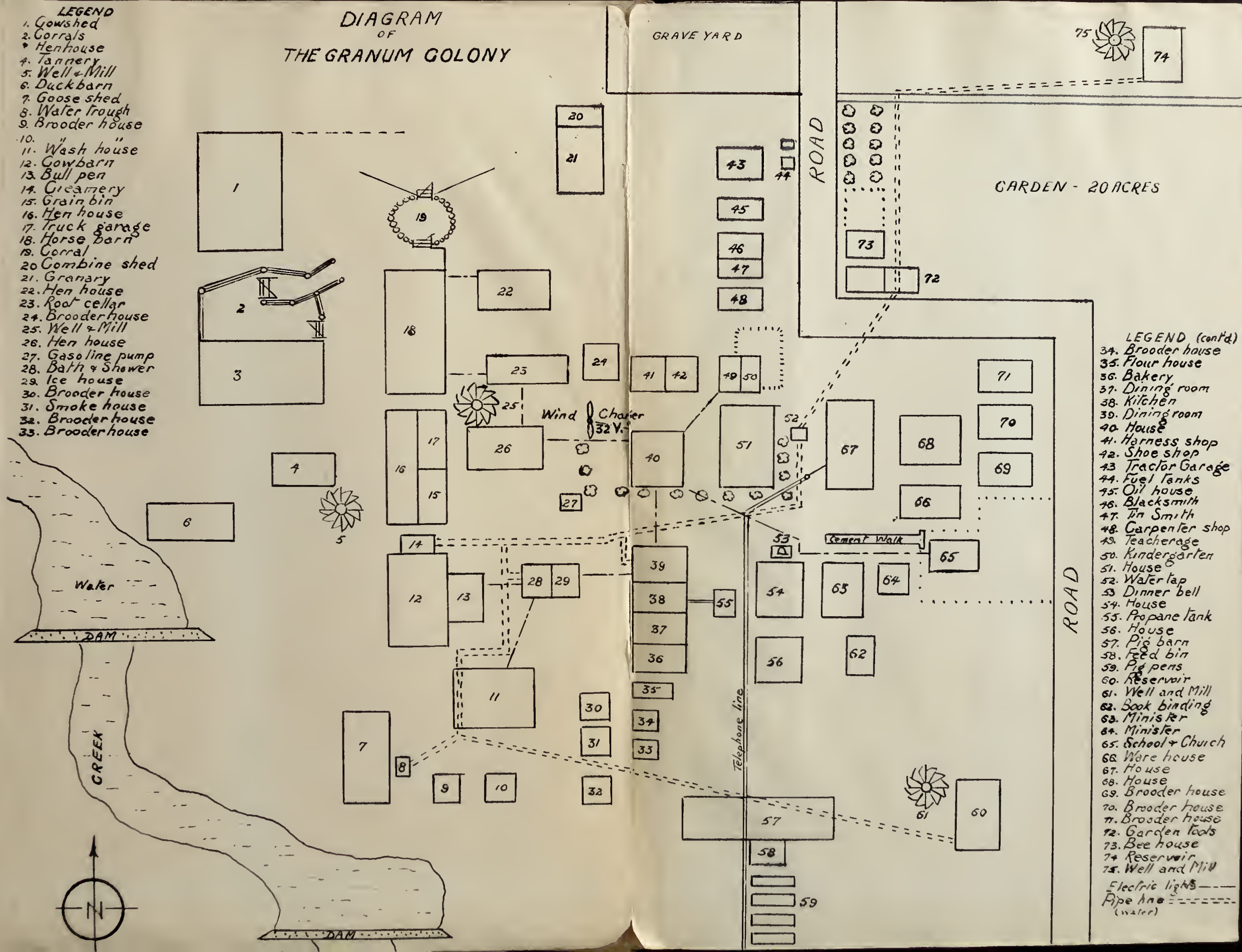




- LEGEND**
1. Cowshed
  2. Corral
  3. Henhouse
  4. Tannery
  5. Well & Mill
  6. Duck barn
  7. Goose shed
  8. Water trough
  9. Brooder house

10. Wash house
11. Cow barn
12. Bull pen
13. Creamery
14. Grain bin
15. Hen house
16. Truck garage
17. Horse barn
18. Corral
19. Combine shed
20. Granary
21. Hen house
22. Root cellar
23. Brooder house
24. Well & Mill
25. Hen house
26. Gasoline pump
27. Bath & Shower
28. Ice house
29. Brooder house
30. Smoke house
31. Brooder house
32. Brooder house
33. Brooder house

# DIAGRAM OF THE GRANUM COLONY



- LEGEND (cont'd)**
34. Brooder house
  35. Flour house
  36. Bakery
  37. Dining room
  38. Kitchen
  39. Dining room
  40. House
  41. Harness shop
  42. Shoe shop
  43. Tractor Garage
  44. Fuel Tanks
  45. Oil house
  46. Blacksmith
  47. Tin Smith
  48. Carpenter shop
  49. Teacherage
  50. Kindergarten
  51. House
  52. Water tap
  53. Dinner bell
  54. House
  55. Propane tank
  56. House
  57. Pig barn
  58. Feed bin
  59. Pig pens
  60. Reservoir
  61. Well and Mill
  62. Book binding
  63. Minister
  64. Minister
  65. School & Church
  66. Ware house
  67. House
  68. House
  69. Brooder house
  70. Brooder house
  71. Brooder house
  72. Garden tools
  73. Bee house
  74. Reservoir
  75. Well and Mill
- Electric lights ———
- Pipe line (water) - - - - -

Nur gültig zum Zwecke der Taufe.

## Geburtsurkunde.

Standesamt..... Grevenbroich..... Nr. 75/1949

Ehrenfried Johannes Rebmann

ist am 21. April 1949

in Grevenbroich geboren

Vater: Schäftermacher Karl Franz Rebmann, evangelisch

Mutter: Charlotte Martha Rebmann geborene Kasik, evangelisch

Grevenbroich, den 21. April 1949



Der Standesbeamte  
In Vertretung:





R E P O R T

of

THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE

regarding

THE LAND SALES PROHIBITION ACT, 1944.  
as amended.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1962

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1962

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

# R E P O R T

of

## THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE

regarding

### THE LAND SALES PROHIBITION ACT, 1944. as amended.

Mr. Speaker:

The Committee appointed by Order-in-Council 53/47 herewith submit their report for consideration of the Legislative Assembly.

The Members held an organization meeting in Calgary, followed by public hearings in Lethbridge, Calgary, and Edmonton.

During the course of their public hearings written briefs were submitted by many interested organizations and individuals, and the Committee had the privilege of questioning the various representatives. The Committee wish to extend their sincere thanks to the organizations and interested parties who co-operated in an effort to place all the pertinent facts before us. We also wish to extend our thanks to the Lakeside Hutterite Colony for the opportunity granted to inspect their colony and gain full first-hand information regarding its operation.

The public meetings attracted wide-spread attention, and in each centre the meetings were attended by a large number of interested parties.

Appended hereto is a list of the briefs presented before the Committee, a copy of O.C. 53/47, and "The Land Sales Prohibition Act, as amended". Copies of briefs submitted by organizations and individuals are on file in the office of the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly.

Under the terms of the Order-in-Council, the Committee has been requested to report on the following:

- (a) The Hutterite problem in the Province of Alberta.
- (b) Whether the said Act should be continued in force, and if so, whether it should be modified or amended in any way.

In compliance with the terms above, the Committee are herewith submitting their report and recommendations under headings (a) and (b).

#### (A) THE HUTTERITE PROBLEM IN THE PROVINCE OF ALBERTA

##### HISTORY:

In order to give a proper background to the first part of the Report, the Committee feels it is necessary to give a brief history of the Hutterian Brotherhood.

The Hutterian Church was founded in Europe during the Reformation, and derives its name from one of the founders, Jacob Hutter, who was burned at the stake.

During the course of several centuries they were forced, for various reasons, to move from country to country until, in the year 1879, a small group came to America. By the year 1914 several colonies had settled in the United States, particularly in North Dakota.

During the first World War they had difficulties in the United States, with the result that all but a few colonies moved to Alberta and Manitoba, the first in 1918 and the last in 1934. A list of present colonies in Alberta, with approximate population and acreage, is included in this Report.



The chief differences between the tenets of most evangelical churches and those of the Hutterite Church are, (according to one brief), as follows:

- "(1) Their belief in having all their property in common.
- (2) Their belief in non-resistance.
- (3) They do not take oaths.
- (4) They do not take or hold public office.
- (5) They baptize only upon 'profession of faith'."

#### COMMUNAL LIFE:

##### Organization

The communal life as practised by the Hutterian Brethren is an integral part of their religious belief; having for its Scriptural foundation Acts 2-44 and 45. Each colony has a manager (householder), a preacher (minister), sometimes an assistant preacher, and from one to five trustees, depending on the size of the colony. These are the leaders of the colony. They are all elected by majority vote of the male members. They may be removed from office by a two-thirds majority. In addition to these leaders, each operation on the colony has its own boss. There is the Dairyman, the Sheep-man, the Poultry-man, the Hog-man, the Carpenter, the Blacksmith, etc. Each of these men has complete authority over his department and complete responsibility for its success. These positions are also filled by majority vote.

The life of the Hutterite is referred to as communal because all property is held in common. This means that all the capital stock such as land, machinery, buildings, etc., is owned by the colony as a whole, and is administered by the leaders on behalf of the membership. However, it should also be noted that each person shares equally with his fellow-members in the distribution of consumer goods and all those possessions which contribute to a standard of living - i.e., food, clothing, shelter, labor-saving devices, furniture and household equipment, etc. The basis of distribution is "to each according to his need, in equal measure with his fellow members".

The life of the Hutterite is also termed communal because meals are prepared in a common kitchen and are eaten in a common dining room. Laundry is washed in a common laundry.

Dwellings are individual, each family having its own living quarters. These are suites of one, two, or three rooms, depending on the size of the family. These suites constitute living quarters only, there being no necessity for dining room or kitchen facilities, due to the fact that all meals are prepared and eaten in a central place. The buildings are of the oblong "barrack-type"; there are from three to six suites to a building. The buildings are, in most cases, built by the colony's carpenters.

The furniture is simple, but well constructed, and is also produced, for the most part, in the carpenters' shops. These shops are well equipped with the latest tools and power-driven lathes.

A complete well-equipped shoe repair shop is maintained on most colonies, and some colonies manufacture their own shoes. Quality of workmanship appears to be high. The clothing, which is hard-wearing, simple in style, drab or subdued in color, is all made on the colony. The women do this work with the use of the sewing machine which each family possesses. From wool raised on the colony they spin yarn which, among other things, is used for stockings, - these are knit by machine.

In the colony visited, the bread and rolls are baked in large commercial-type bake ovens, such as would be found in any small modern bakery.

The laundry is also done by mechanical power-driven washing machines of the commercial revolving-drum variety; and the clothes are dried by power-driven centrifugal force driers. This laundry equipment is built by the carpenters and metal workers on the colony.





Dough mixing, cream separating, churning of butter is also done by power-driven equipment.

In this colony the work is organized on a routine duty roster basis, with the members taking turns week about, in the performance of the various tasks. For instance, three women may have the duty of cooking for this week, next week it will be another three, and so on until all who are eligible for this work have had their turn. The same procedure is used for milking, baking, dish washing and all other colony chores. The specialists have their helpers too, each of the young men being liable for assignment to help the Dairyman, Poultryman, Carpenter or Mechanics, if and when help is needed.

It would appear that any modern device which is of a labor-saving nature, or of practical value to the colony, is quite acceptable, and is not looked upon as an unnecessary luxury. However, such modern devices as are primarily for entertainment or pleasure have no place in colony life. Thus, there are no radios, pianos, or other musical instruments. They will use trucks, but not automobiles.

#### AGRICULTURE:

The Hutterites, always having followed the occupation of Agriculture previous to coming to Alberta, naturally followed the same occupation when settling in this Province.

Believing in the communal way of life, we find in several parts of this Province agricultural colonies. Most of these being situated in the southern part of the Province, it may be of some interest to this Legislature to have a brief picture of these colonies.

As each colony is under the leadership of two spiritual and one business leader, the business of the colony is conducted by these men on a purely communal basis, everything raised and sold being the property of the whole colony.

For a number of years the Hutterite Colonies used the older methods of agriculture, but on some colonies you now find modern farm machinery, together with modern agricultural methods.

It might interest the Hon. Members of this Legislature to see how one colony, namely, the Lakeside Colony, east of Lethbridge, operates. This colony is, more or less, a pattern for other colonies. On the Lakeside farm you will find the latest in farm machinery; there were three Diesel caterpillar tractors, modern tillers, seeders and other cultivating machinery. We also found a combine, threshing machine, stook loader, and a repair shop.

As the women apparently look after the milking, there were no milking machines; but there was a very efficient dairy room, together with ice and cold storage rooms, in which is stored considerable perishable food.

Cattle, sheep, hogs and poultry (particularly geese and ducks) seem to be the main source of meat supply. The two latter are very essential, as feathers and down are used for pillows and mattresses.

It is apparent that these colonies, with their modern farm machinery and abundance of help, are in no sense over-worked.

They are, in every sense of the word, isolated, self-contained units in the social and economic life of this Province.

#### EDUCATION:

Education forms the background of society and conditions the manner in which governments function. An adequate system of public education is a prerequisite to a successful Democracy. It is the medium that brings together and resolves the composite sects and racial groups in this country into Canadians. In its broad, philosophical aspect it provides the means whereby the individual may obtain a better enjoyment of life, and may become more useful citizens who can make some contribution to the country that shelters them.

1885

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Briefs in connection with the Hutterite educational problem have been submitted by the Alberta School Trustees' Association, the Lethbridge School Division, and the St. Mary's School Division. Almost all organizations which submitted briefs pointed out the Hutterite school situation as inadequate, and that it will not fit the Hutterite children for a place in our Canadian way of life. Many were of the opinion that the school authorities should make every possible effort to see that all school regulations are carried out.

The Hutterite child attends kindergarten at a very young age, and receives one year's instruction in German before starting the English class. This has sometimes made it very difficult for the teacher who must first teach the English language to the pupils.

The briefs received stressed the fact that some educational facilities are lacking, such as pianos, radios, phonographs, and other equipment.

Playground equipment is lacking at most schools, and music is not encouraged.

Although attendance is good and discipline average, many briefs stated that the Hutterite child gets weary from too much instruction, - he must attend German religious classes before and after the regular school hours.

Correspondence courses are taken by some of the young men who wish to train as electricians, carpenters, mechanics, shoemakers, etc., etc.

We found the men skilled in various trades that make the colony a modern farming unit. The young men are a good average in field husbandry.

The young women are skilled in Household Economics, and all girls are given the tools for this work, even to spinning wheels, with which they are very proficient.

The Hutterite people build and operate their own schools on the colonies and, in most cases, pay the full cost of their operation, as well as the full amount of taxes due to the School Division. Their school buildings are a good average of the rural one-room type, - the one visited by the Committee was good. The Divisions would prefer to educate the Hutterite children in Divisional schools, as there is, in some sections, disruption of the entire set-up of centralization of rural high schools with the present arrangement.

It is the opinion of all organizations presenting briefs that steps will have to be taken to enforce more strictly the regulations of The School Act.

The better qualified teachers do not wish to teach in Hutterite Schools, and, thereby, Hutterite children receive somewhat inferior instruction. This could be remedied by the Hutterite children attending the larger schools. Hutterite children have only ten per cent. of their enrolment in the Intermediate grades, and none in High School. Other schools (non Hutterite) have twenty-five per cent. enrolment in Intermediate grades and a substantial enrolment in High Schools and Universities. Hutterite Schools are badly over-crowded, in some cases having from 35 to 48 pupils in one room.

Briefs received indicate that the majority of Hutterite pupils receive less than a Grade VIII standing, as they all leave school at fifteen years of age.

The Elders have stated to the Committee that they prefer to keep the young people of the colony from acquiring a higher education because they are most anxious that their young people shall remain on the land as farmers.

#### THE HUTTERITES IN THE MUNICIPALITIES.

Many briefs were presented to our Committee by, and on behalf of, individual municipalities; also one by the Alberta Association of Municipal Districts.

THE  
JOURNAL OF THE  
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE  
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND  
VOLUME 31  
PART 1  
1901

As the Hutterites are engaged exclusively in farming, they come under the jurisdiction of the municipality in which their land is located. Their holdings consist of approximately 180,000 acres of farm land in Alberta. There are 34 colonies in all, with an average of 5,000 acres, or between eight and nine sections of land for each colony. The Hutterites number slightly over 4,000 people, which would mean an average of over 120 persons to a colony. From information presented to the Committee, the following facts are noted:

- (1) The Hutterites believe in communal living, or colony life and ownership in common. All property is owned in common. No Hutterite member is the sole owner of any property.
- (2) The Hutterites' land is assessed and taxed on the same basis as other farm land in the same municipality. They pay all municipal and school district taxes which may be levied against their holdings. There are no arrears of taxes in any community or school district. For income tax purposes each colony is classed as a corporation.
- (3) The Hutterites pay for the upkeep of their private schools in addition to the regular school district taxes.
- (4) The Hutterites care for the welfare of all persons in the colony. The aged, sick and unemployed are provided for without help from the municipality. They do not accept Old Age Pensions, Mothers' Allowances, agricultural or other relief, or free hospitalization; but some of the colonies accept the Family Allowance.
- (5) The Hutterites are a peaceful, law-abiding people, and seldom appear in court actions.
- (6) The Hutterites do not exercise the franchise in any elections. They do not hold any municipal or school district office.
- (7) The children of Hutterites stay in the colony and work there. They seldom accept any work outside the colony whatever. They have little opportunity, therefore, of knowing anything about the world outside the colony. They know only what they are taught in the colony and the communal way of life. Apparently they are taught little regarding their duty as individuals to the municipality, the province, or the nation.
- (8) The communal way of life interferes with all municipal activities such as playgrounds, sports, electrical and telephone extensions, and various other community enterprises. The larger the holdings of communal groups, the greater is the responsibility passed on to the remainder of the people living in that municipality.

In the briefs presented by the municipalities, great fear is expressed that, if the Hutterites are permitted to extend their present holdings, they will become an ever-increasing problem in each municipal district where they are located. They state that, owing to the prosperous years brought about by the war-time economy, the Hutterites have accumulated sufficient funds to acquire further large blocks of land which, it is believed, would interfere with the veterans' rehabilitation plans.

In the brief presented by the Alberta Association of Municipal Districts it was pointed out that at the convention held in November, 1946, 204 councillors were present, representing 52 municipal districts in the Province. At this convention the Hutterite problem was thoroughly discussed, and the following resolution was unanimously adopted: (QUOTE)

"Resolved that the Government be requested to maintain the present legislation, an Act Prohibiting Hutterites from Buying or Renting Land." (END QUOTATION)



1891

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THE ADAMS COMPANY

(INCORPORATED)

AND THE ADAMS EXPRESS COMPANY

This brief further states as follows: (QUOTE)

"That the Hutterites be given to understand that the present restriction will in any event be continued until the several colonies demonstrate a readiness and desire to identify themselves more fully with our common language and our national habits and customs of life. People who are not prepared to assume the burdens, liabilities and duties of citizenship should not be entitled to claim all the benefits and privileges of the State.

That special agents of the Government be appointed to work with them with a view to encouraging them to assume more fully the responsibilities of citizenship."  
(END QUOTATION)

In conclusion, the Committee wish to say that the information presented in this part of the report is, in their opinion, a fair statement of the situation as it appeared in the briefs and presentations received during their deliberations.

It is our considered opinion that the conditions which prompted the passing of The Land Sales Prohibition Act still exist, and that the communal form of living will continue to be a matter of concern to the people of Alberta unless regulations can be applied which will, in the public interest, control the expansion or increase of communal groups.

The Committee respectfully submit for your consideration the recommendations listed under section (b), which we believe will be a fair and equitable solution of the problem.

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Recommendations of the Committee appointed  
by the Legislative Assembly to study the  
Hutterite problem in the Province of Alberta

Your Committee recommends that before The Land Sales Prohibition Act being chapter 15 of the Statutes of Alberta, 1944, expires, a new Act should be passed incorporating the recommendations of your Committee which are as follows:

1. That the land held or operated whether as owners or under lease or in any other manner by a group of persons or a colony as "communal property" as hereinafter defined shall not be increased or extended beyond the amount of property so held as of the first day of March, A.D. 1944;

(a) that each group of persons or colony which holds land as "communal property" be required to submit to the Government a list of the land held or operated by it as owner or under lease or in any other manner as of the first day of March, A.D. 1944;

(b) that notwithstanding the provisions of the second recommendation hereinafter made, any group of persons or colony which has since the first day of March, A.D. 1944 given up or lost any part of its land holdings for irrigation or other public purposes should be permitted to increase its holdings by an amount equal to the portion of its holdings so given up or lost.

2. That no new group of persons or colony shall be permitted to acquire "communal property" whether by purchase or lease except under the following conditions:

(a) no group of persons or colony shall purchase or acquire "communal property" at any place in the Province situate within forty miles of any previously established group of persons or colony holding "communal property";

(b) that no such group of persons or colony shall be permitted to purchase or acquire an area of land in any part of the Province in excess of 6400 acres;

(c) that no such group of persons or colony shall be permitted to purchase or acquire land of which over fifty per cent. of the total acreage is under cultivation;

(d) that no person in the Province shall be permitted to sell or lease to a group of persons or colony, any land to be held as "communal property", unless such land has first been offered for sale or lease under the provisions of The Veterans Land Act, and such offer has remained open for a period of sixty days;

(e) that no provincial lands be leased by the Province to any group of persons or colony to be held as "communal property".

3. For the purpose of these recommendations "communal property" shall mean property held by any group of persons or colony established for the purpose of owning or leasing land in common where no individual member of the group or colony has any individual right of ownership in the property, whether the legal title to the property is held by the group or colony as an incorporated company or held by trustees for the benefit of the members of the group or colony.

3a. That a board or committee be established under the Act to determine in any case whether a group of persons or colony has been established for the purpose of holding "communal property" or whether "communal property" is so held by any group of persons or colony, and that there may be an appeal to the Courts from the finding of such board or committee.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

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Ivan Casey  
Chairman

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## APPENDIX

### THE LAND SALES PROHIBITION ACT, 1944, AS AMENDED

#### COMMITTEE APPOINTED

Edmonton, Saturday, January 18, 1947.

Whereas The Land Sales Prohibition Act (being Chapter 15 of the Statutes of Alberta, 1944, as amended by Chapter 59 of the Statutes of Alberta, 1945, and Chapter 54 of the Statutes of Alberta, 1946), is now in force in the Province of Alberta; and

Whereas (pursuant to Section 9a thereof as amended by Section 1 of Chapter 54 of the Statutes of Alberta, 1946), the said Act shall remain in force until the 1st day of May, 1947; and

Whereas it is proper, convenient and in the public interest that a study be made of the Hutterite problem; and

Whereas it is proper, expedient and in the public interest that a committee of the Legislative Assembly be appointed to obtain information regarding colonies or societies of Hutterites or Hutterite Brethren, and to bring in a report or reports and to make recommendations to the Legislative Assembly as to:

- (a) the Hutterite problem in the Province of Alberta;
- (b) whether the said Act should be continued in force, and if so, whether it should be modified or amended in any way;

Therefore, His Honour the Lieutenant Governor, by and with the advice of the Executive Council, has been pleased to order that:

(a) the following persons, being members of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, be, and they are hereby appointed a committee for the said purpose:

Ivan Casey, of High River, Alberta,  
L. C. Halmrast, of Lucky Strike, Alberta,  
H. G. Hammell, of Carstairs, Alberta,  
H. B. Macdonald, of 4236 Elbow Drive, Calgary, Alberta,  
F. C. Colborne, of 1507-25th Avenue West, Calgary, Alberta,

and that Ivan Casey, shall be Chairman of the committee;

(b) the said committee shall act and bring in its report to the Legislative Assembly at the next ensuing Session;

104

(c) the appointment of the said committee shall be subject to ratification by resolution of the Legislative Assembly.

R. A. ANDISON,  
Clerk of the Executive Council.

(O.C. 53-47)

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Legislative Assembly  
of the Province of Alberta.

Resolution which was unanimously passed in  
the Legislative Assembly, February 21st, 1947.

Moved by the Honourable Mr. Manning, seconded by the Honourable Mr. Maynard:

Whereas by Order in Council O.C. 53/47 dated the 18th day of January, 1947, Ivan Casey (Chairman), L.G. Halmrast, H.G. Hammell, H.B. Macdonald and F.C. Colborne were appointed members of a committee of the Legislative Assembly for the following purpose: to obtain information regarding colonies or societies of Hutterites or Hutterian Brethren and to bring in a report or reports and make recommendations to the Legislative Assembly as to:

- (a) The Hutterite problem in the Province of Alberta;
- (b) Whether The Land Sales Prohibition Act, being chapter 15 of the Statutes of Alberta, 1944, as amended by chapter 59 of the Statutes of Alberta, 1945, and chapter 54 of the Statutes of Alberta, 1946, should be continued in force, and if so, whether it should be modified or amended in any way:

Be it resolved, that the appointment of the said special committee be, and the same is hereby approved and confirmed as of the 18th day of January, 1947, and that the said committee do report to this Assembly at the present Session of the Legislature with its recommendations as to the matters referred to it by the said Order in Council.

The motion being proposed Mr. Speaker declared the motion carried unanimously.

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CHAPTER 15.

An Act to prohibit the Sale of Lands to any Hutterites  
for the Duration of the War.

(Assented to March 1, 1944.)

HIS MAJESTY, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of  
the Province of Alberta, enacts as follows:

SHORT TITLE.

1. This Act may be cited as "The Land Sales Prohibition Act".

INTERPRETATION.

2. "Hutterite" means any colony or society of Hutterites or Hutterian Brethren  
whether corporate or unincorporate, and any member of a Hutterite colony or  
society.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

3. No person either by himself or by his servant or agent shall sell or agree  
to sell any land to any Hutterite, or to any trustee or other person on behalf  
of any Hutterite.

4. No Hutterite either by himself or by his servant or agent or by his trustee  
or by any other person on his behalf, shall purchase, agree to purchase, or  
attempt to purchase any lands or enter into any contract or agreement which  
directly or indirectly may result in the vesting of property in land or title  
to land in any Hutterite or in any trustee or other person on behalf of any  
Hutterite.

5. No person shall either by himself or by his servant or agent, lease or  
agree to lease any land to any Hutterite, and no Hutterite, either by himself  
or by his servant or agent or by a trustee or any other person on his behalf,  
shall lease or agree to lease any lands or occupy or enter into occupation  
of any lands under any contract or agreement of any kind.

6.-(1) Any transfer, contract or agreement which directly or indirectly results  
or may result in the vesting of property in land or title to land in any Hutterite  
or in any trustee or other person on behalf of any Hutterite, and any lease,  
agreement for lease or other agreement of the nature referred to in section 5  
shall be utterly null and void.

(2) The provisions of this section shall not apply to the renewal from  
year to year of any lease granted prior to the fourteenth day of February, 1944,  
or of any lease heretofore granted by any Department of the Government of Alberta.

7. Any money paid pursuant to any transfer, contract or agreement or pursuant  
to any lease, agreement for lease or other agreement which has been rendered  
null and void by the provisions of section 6, shall be a debt owing by the per-  
son to whom it was paid to the person by whom or on whose behalf it was paid,  
and shall be recoverable forthwith by such last mentioned person in any court  
of competent jurisdiction.

8.-(1) Subject to the provisions of subsection (2) of section 6, no person  
shall register or attempt to register any transfer or other instrument affect-  
ing property in land or title to land which vests any right, title or interest  
in land in any Hutterite or in any trustee or other person on behalf of any  
Hutterite, and no such transfer or instrument shall knowingly be accepted for  
registration by the Registrar of any Land Titles Office, and no certificate of  
title to any land shall knowingly be granted by the Registrar to any Hutterite  
or to any trustee or other person on behalf of any Hutterite.

(2) The provisions of this section shall not apply to any transfer or  
other instrument made pursuant to the provisions of any contract or agreement  
entered into before the first day of March, 1942.



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9. Any person who violates any of the provisions of this Act shall be guilty of an offence and liable on summary conviction to a fine of not more than two thousand dollars, or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding twelve months, or to both fine and imprisonment.

10. This Act shall come into force on the day upon which it is assented to.

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CHAPTER 59.

An Act to amend The Land Sales Prohibition Act.

(Assented to March 28, 1945.)

HIS MAJESTY, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, enacts as follows:

1. The Land Sales Prohibition Act, being chapter 15 of the Statutes of Alberta, 1944, is hereby amended by adding immediately at the end of section 9 thereof, the following new sections:

"9a. This Act shall remain in force until the cessation of hostilities in the war in which Canada is now engaged with the German Reich and Japan, and for one year thereafter.

"9b. This Act shall have no application to any transfer, agreement of sale or other instrument with respect to land hereafter made or entered into between a Hutterite or Hutterites and another Hutterite or Hutterites which is made or entered into pursuant to or to carry out the terms of any transfer, contract, agreement of sale, lease, option or other agreement made or entered into between such parties prior to the first day of March 1944."

2. This Act shall come into force on the day upon which it is assented to.

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CHAPTER 54.

An Act to amend The Land Sales Prohibition Act.

(Assented to March 27, 1946.)

HIS MAJESTY, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, enacts as follows:

1. The Land Sales Prohibition Act, being chapter 15 of the Statutes of Alberta, 1944, is hereby amended as to section 9a by striking out the same and by substituting therefor the following:

"9a. This Act shall remain in force until the first day of May, 1947."

2. This Act shall come into force on the day upon which it is assented to.

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LIST OF BRIEFS PRESENTED AT THE PUBLIC HEARINGS

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Hutterian Brethren of Southern Alberta (Several colonies)  
----- Mr. L. S. Turcotte.

Municipal District of Warner, No. 4 -- Mr. Livingstone.

Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Office --- Mr. M. Mann.

Hutterian Brethren (Several colonies in Calgary area)  
----- Mr. S. R. Vallance.

Citizens' Organization (Beiseker and Irricana District)  
----- Mr. C. Bond.

Municipal District of Serviceberry, No. 43  
----- Mr. F. Ewing.

Southern Alberta Citizens' Committee (34 organizations and municipalities of  
Southern Alberta) ----- Mr. J. Harper Prowse, Sr.

Alberta Farmers' Union ----- Mr. Pharis.

Cardston Irrigation and Development Committee  
----- Mr. J. S. Smith.

Canadian Legion, Alberta Command ----- Mr. D. E. Fraser.

Hutterian Fellowship of Raley ----- Mr. W. Huckvale.

United Farmers of Alberta ----- Mr. W. Ward.

Alberta Federation of Agriculture ---- Mr. P. Baker.

Lethbridge School Division No. 7 ----- Mr. R. Glover.

Alberta Association of Municipal Districts  
----- Mr. D. Roberts.

Alberta School Trustees' Association - Mr. H. Clement.

Alberta Farmers' Union, Local No. 379- Mr. W. Burbridge.

Granum Board of Trade ----- Mr. G. Gustensen.

Brief by Mrs. O'Nairn - Teacher.

St. Mary's Farm Forum Group ----- Mrs. Pharis.

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In addition to the briefs above, which were presented by representatives appearing before the Committee, there were a large number of briefs, resolutions, letters, etc., from many interested organizations and individuals. The information contained in these was of great help to the Committee in their deliberations.

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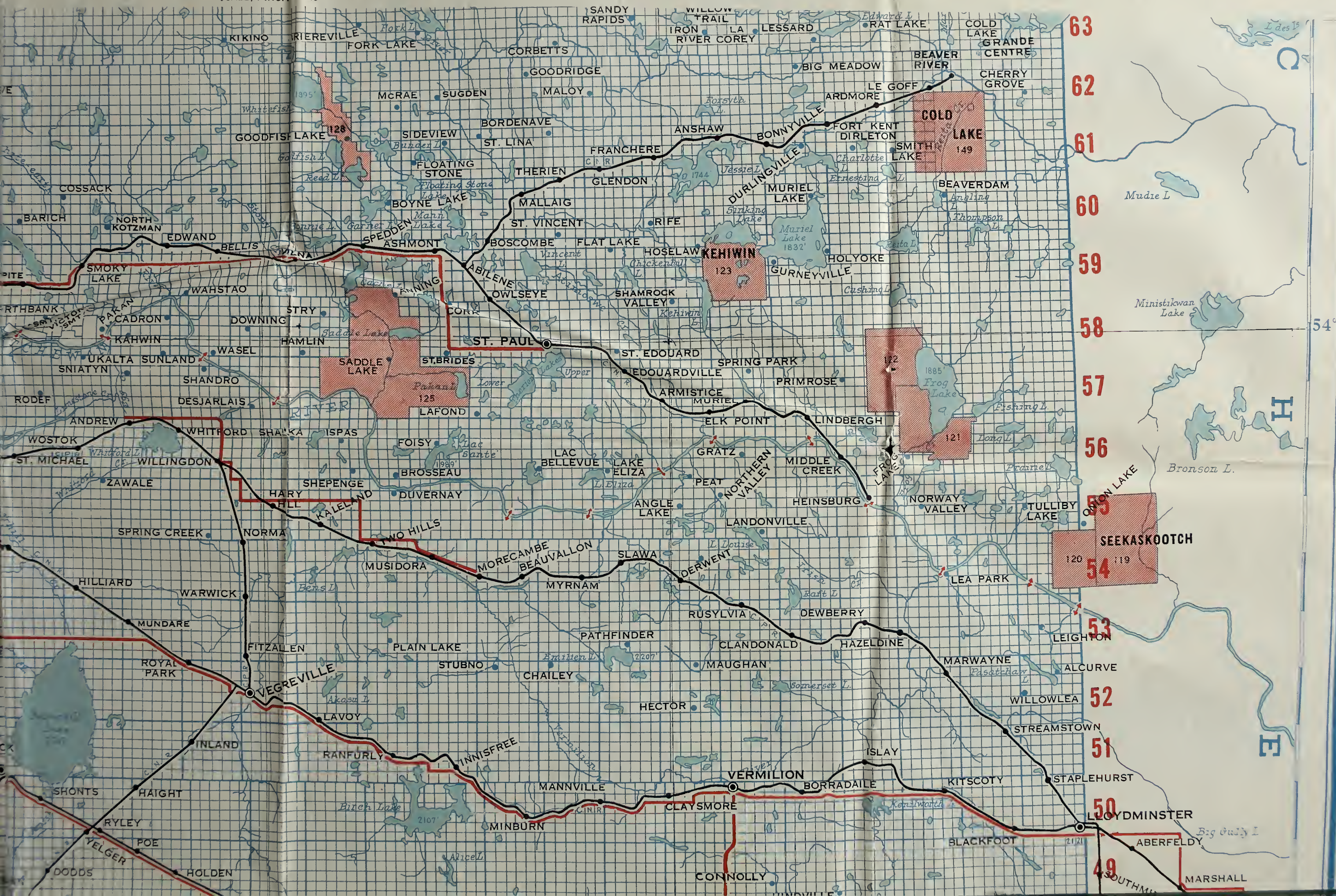




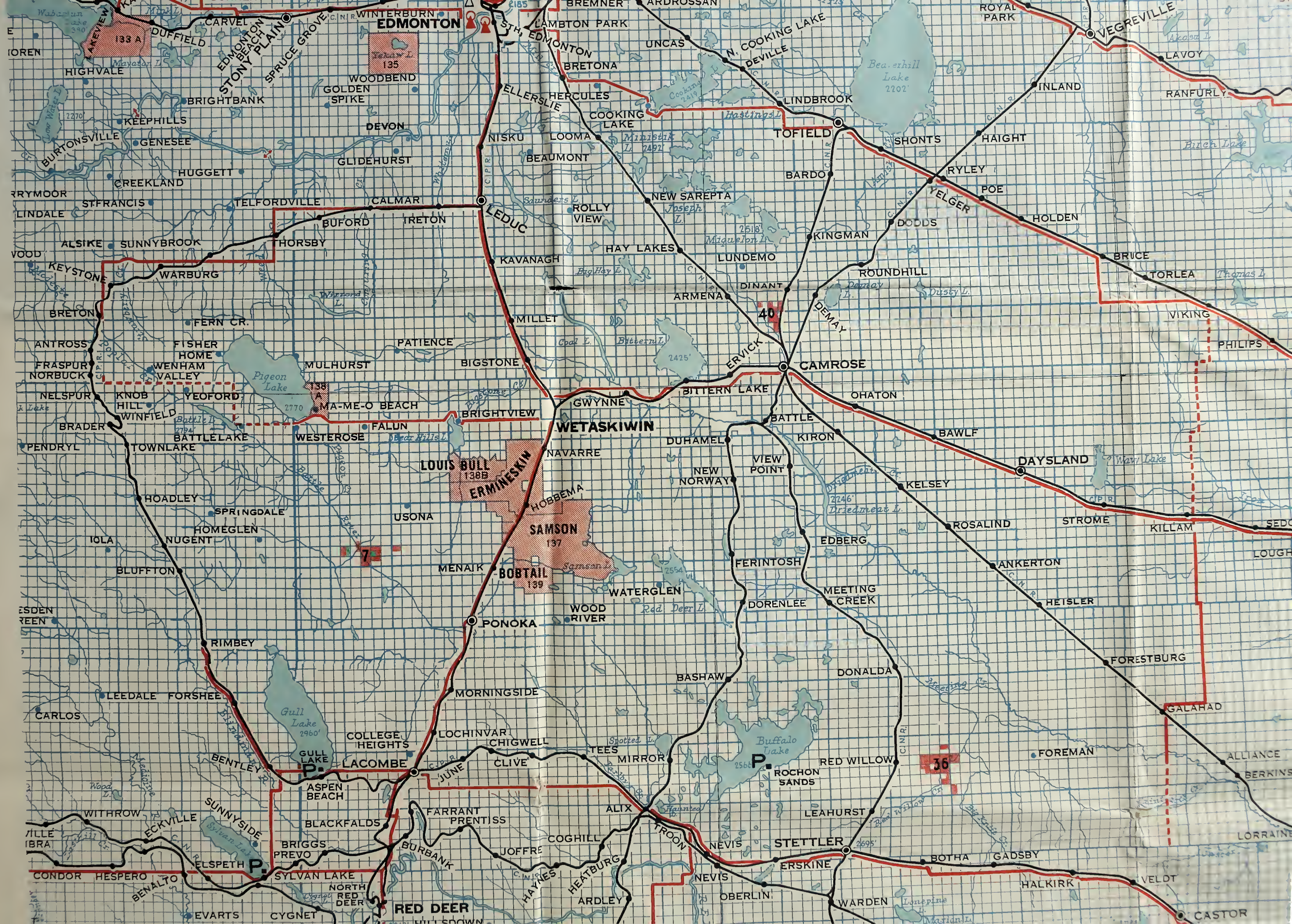


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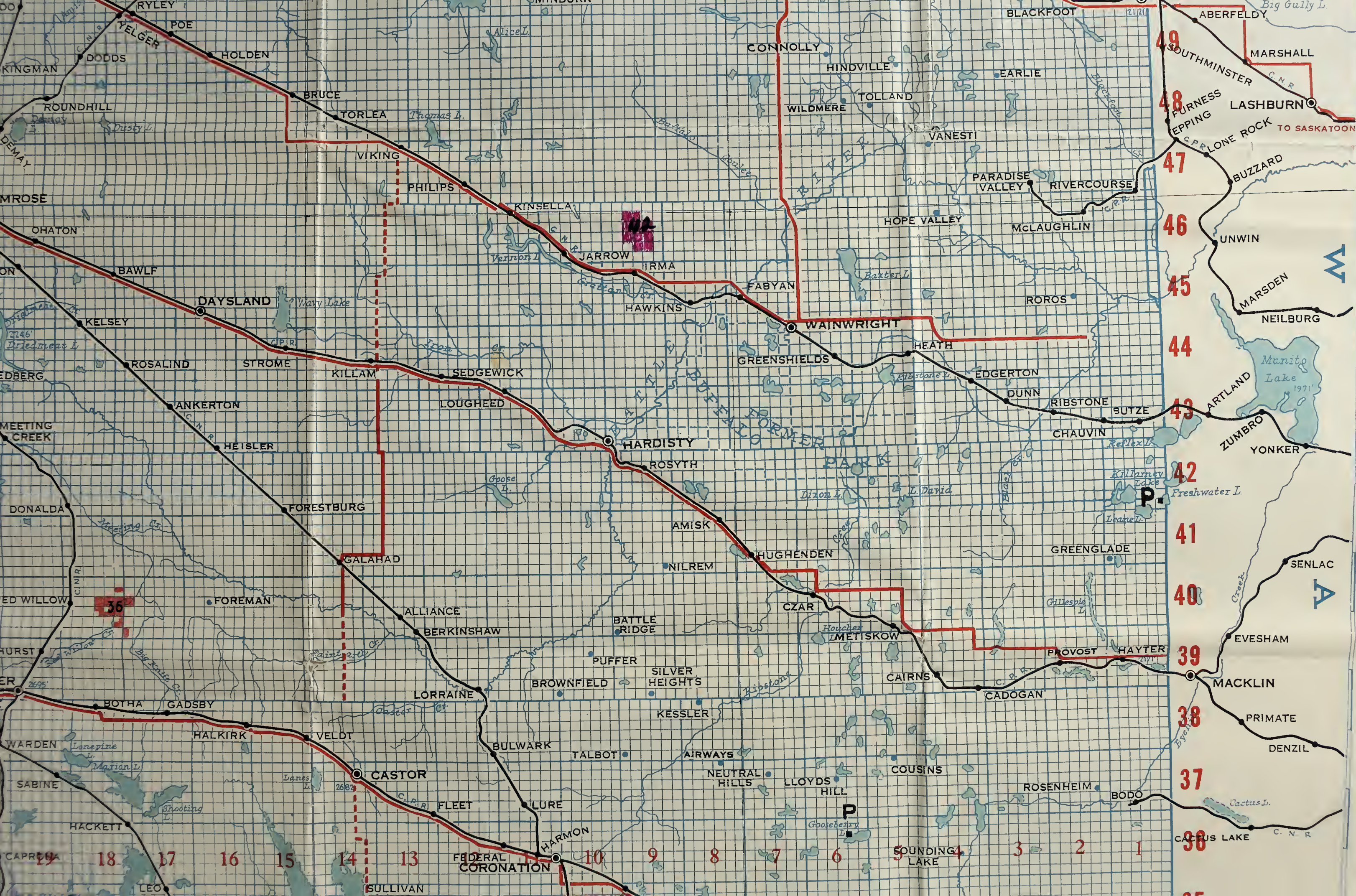
Map showing the St. Paul area in Manitoba, Canada, with a grid of townships and ranges. The map includes numerous place names, lakes, and rivers. A red line highlights a specific route or boundary. The map is oriented with North at the top. A scale bar at the top left indicates 1 inch equals 1 mile. Township numbers 49 through 63 are listed along the right edge, and range numbers 1 through 10 are listed along the bottom edge.







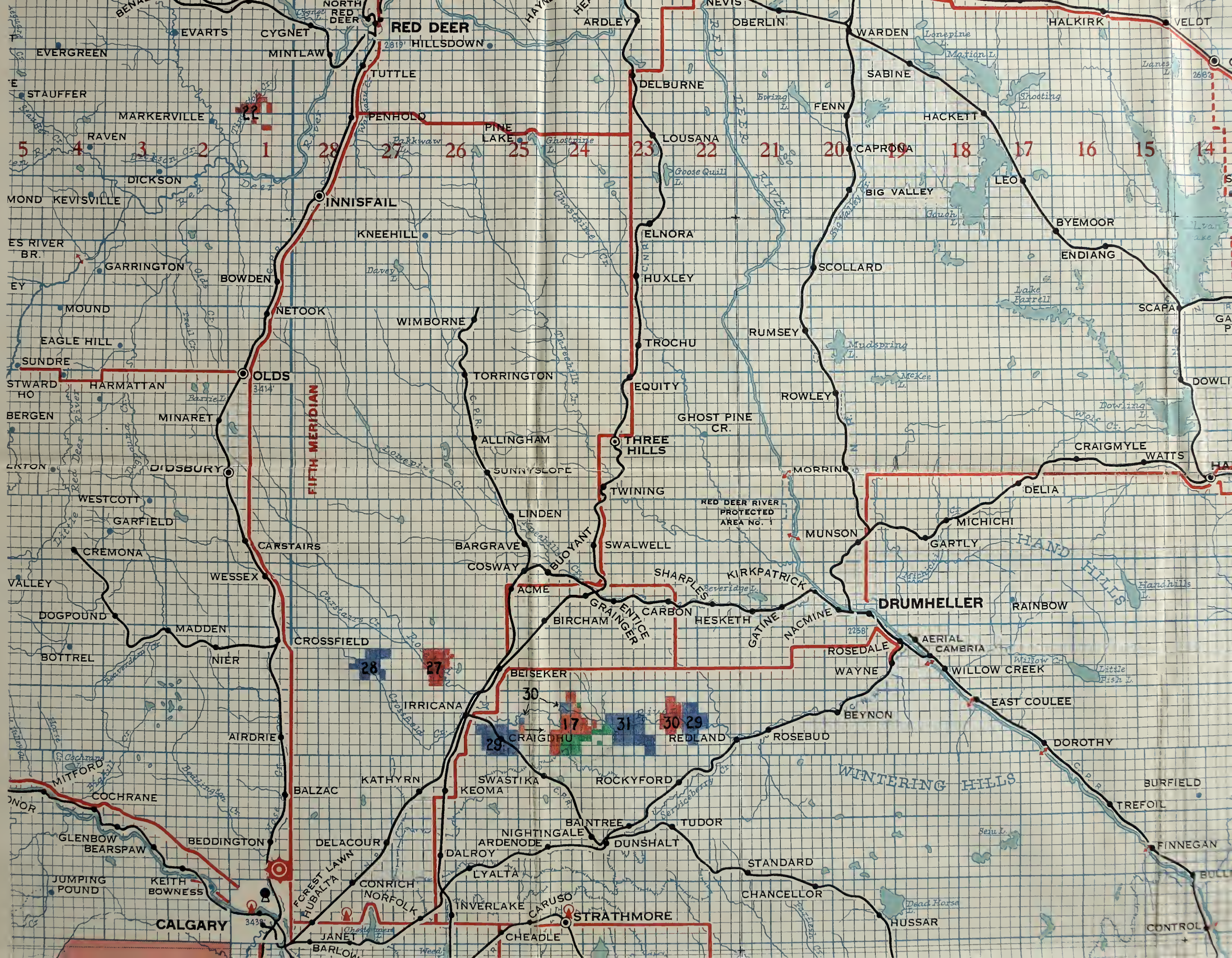




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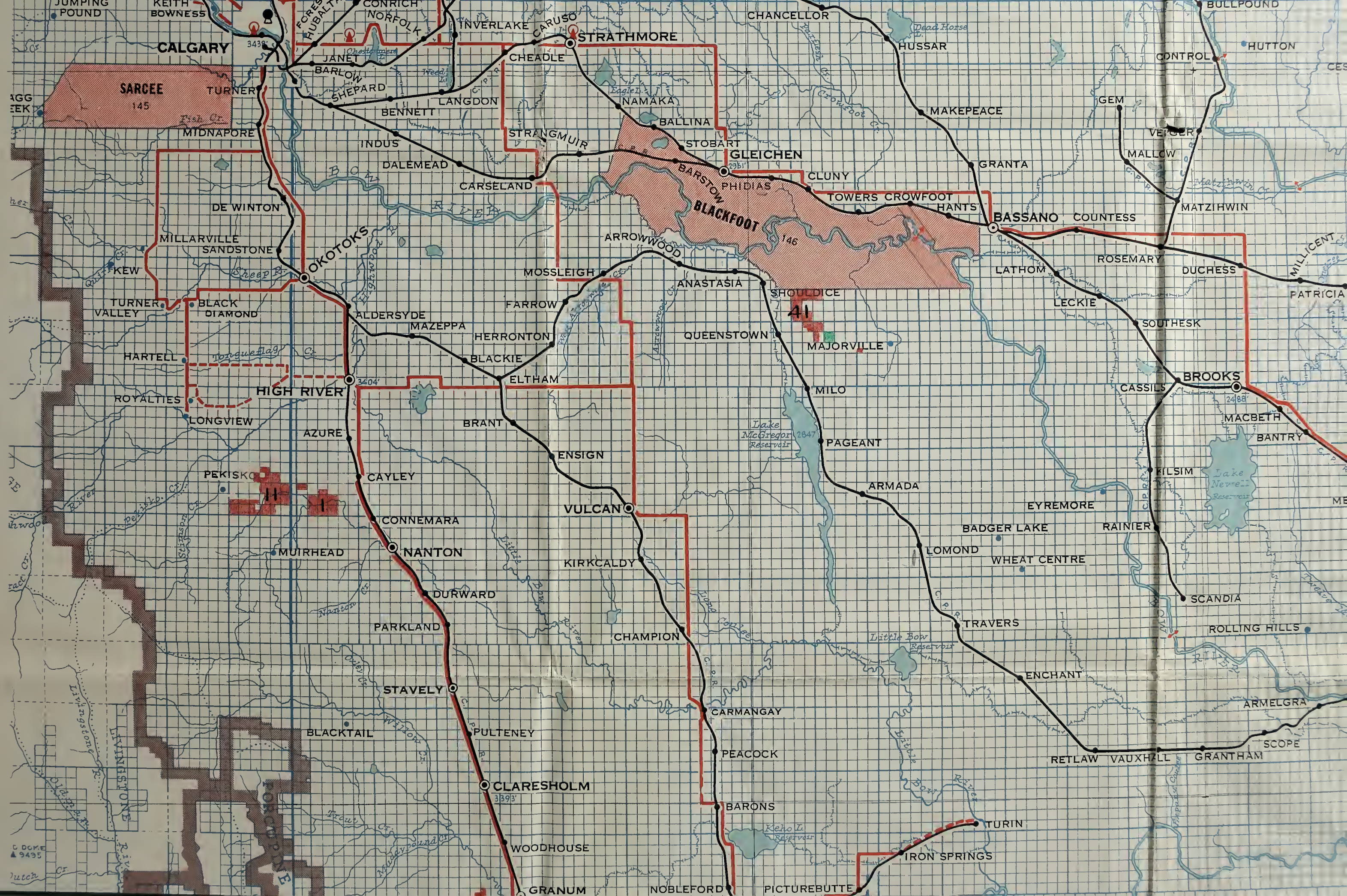








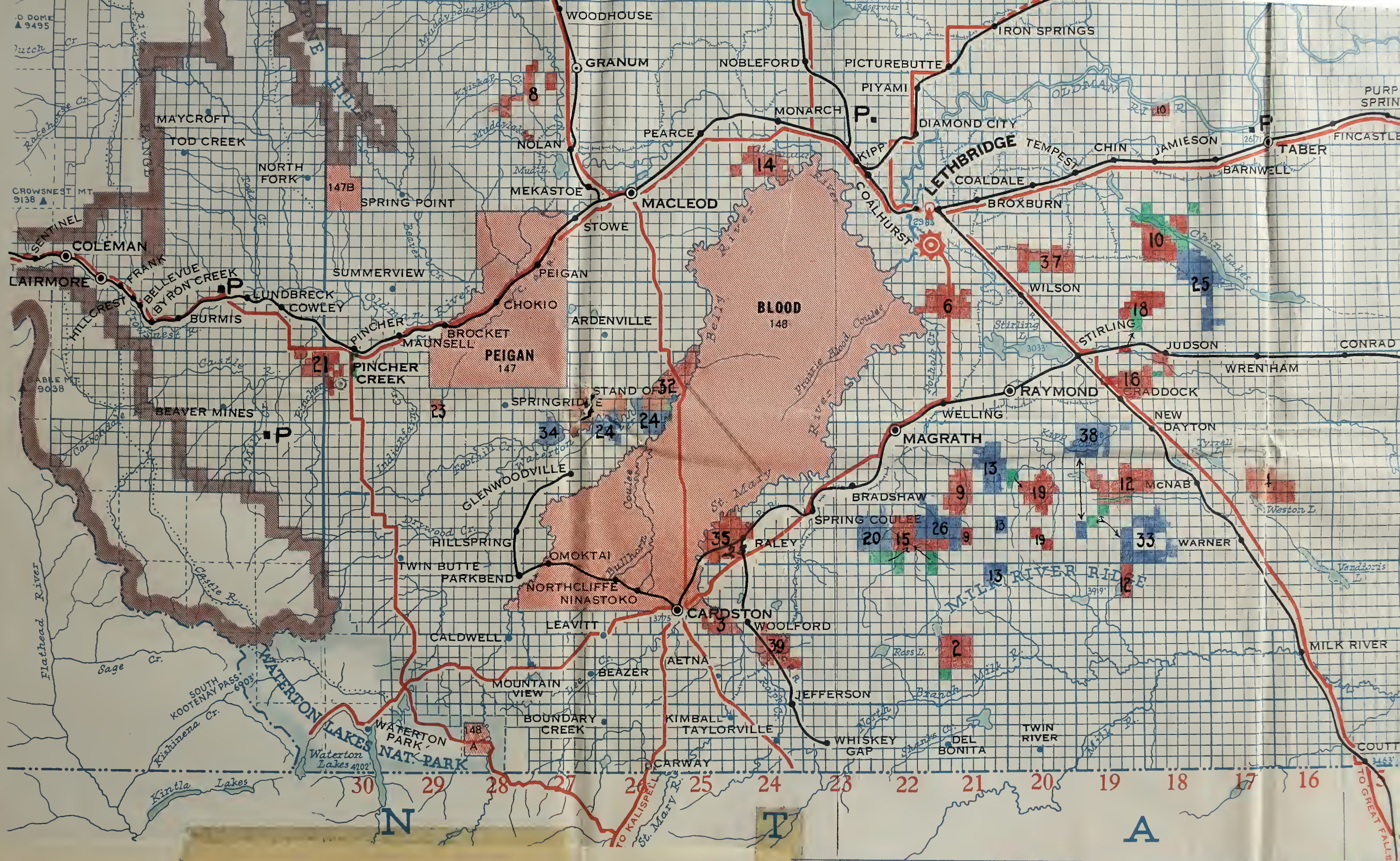






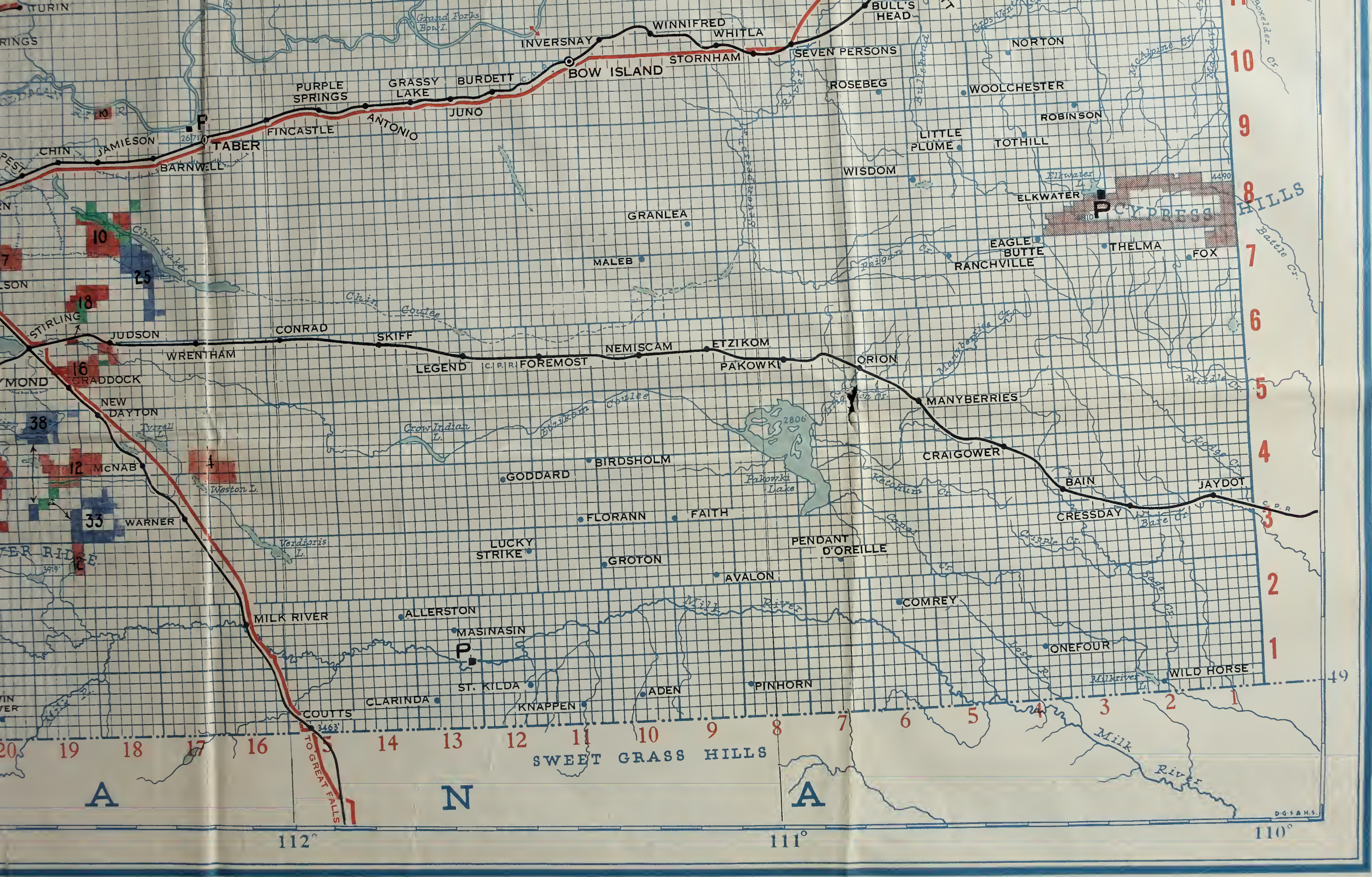






Map of Alberta, scale: 8 miles/1 inch, showing location of Hutterite Colonies as at March 31, 1949. The Colonies are numbered to correspond with pages 140 and 141 of the thesis.







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